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On the cover: Photograph by Alex Brandon—AP, Insets, from left: Michael O'Neill—Corbis Outline; Nicholas Hexum

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10 Questions.

She's a Harvard grad, an acclaimed actress and a humanitarian, but she says she's no role model. Her new movie is *The Other Boleyn Girl*. **Natalie Portman will now take your questions**

What have you learned about yourself by portraying powerful women?

Dani Araya, TORONTO

It has encouraged me to say things authoritatively. Often women preface what they say with "I know this might sound stupid" or "I don't mean to be aggressive, but..." I tend to do that, so it is great to have the opportunity to play a leader.

You take on a period piece in *The Other Boleyn Girl*. What is your favorite time in history?

Nikki Barrett, YORK, PA.

I'm really interested in 1920s Berlin. I read this great book by Amos Elon called *The Pity of It All*. It's about Jewish life in Berlin right before the war. The whole environment of the salons and all this culture—there was a real openness and freedom. It's scary to think the response to that was this incredible fascism.

Does knowing you are a role model affect what parts you choose to play?

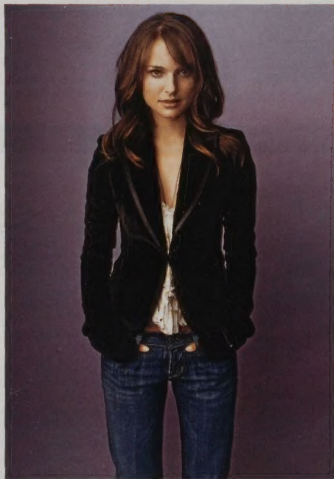
Nina Chung

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

I don't consider myself a role model—I make mistakes all the time. It's more about how I want to portray women and myself. I played a stripper in *Closer*, and now it sickens me how many scripts I get where the woman is a stripper or a prostitute. I also have this sort of good-girl image—it's such a virgin-whore thing with female roles.

You once shaved your head for a role. Would you do it again?

Will Kooi, EDMOND, OKLA.



I don't know. I loved having a shaved head, but the growing-out process is really sketchy. I had some odd haircuts.

Most of your movies are very serious. Would you consider working on more comedies?

Mariana Córdova
CALEXICO, CALIF.

I would love to, but it is difficult to find something where the woman is funny without endorsing frivolous girlhood. I love chick flicks, but I hate the

fashion obsession and always wanting to get married at the end—that really bugs me.

How do you feel about the missteps of today's young stars?

Ryan Youell, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.
You're never going to change the fact that it's hard for some people to deal with their lives, but you can change your reaction. Give them their space and privacy. The worst thing about our society is that it revels in people's difficult times.

As a native of Israel, what role do you think the U.S. government should play in its affairs?

Amy Lucio, RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

I would love to see a government that made demands on Israel and the Palestinians to reach an agreement. Ultimately, it has to come from the people themselves, though. No one is going to like an externally imposed solution.

You work with the Foundation for International Community Assistance. How can microfinance help change women's lives?

Henry Zakumumpa
KAMPALA, UGANDA

Microfinance is part of the solution. It is an incredible way to give capital to the world's poorest people, mainly women. With these loans women are able to take agency in their own lives. They don't need to wait around for someone to come help them. We really take that for granted here.

Should celebrities use their stardom to influence voters?

Sofia Canbolat

ROTTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Sure. People can listen to a host of influences and still make their own decisions. I'm always interested to hear who the people I respect are voting for. Gloria Steinem wrote this Op-Ed in the New York Times that influenced me toward Senator Hillary Clinton.

Would you ever consider running for office?

Dan Walton, CANTON, OHIO

I never really considered it, but it's not a bad idea. I'm not going to be getting parts in the next five to 10 years—I'll be over the hill. [Laughs.] Maybe I can go into politics once I'm too ugly for Hollywood. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM
To watch a video interview with Portman and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

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Prescription Lyrica is not for everyone. Tell your doctor right away about any serious allergic reaction that causes swelling of the face, mouth, lips, gums, tongue or neck or affects your breathing or your skin. Also tell your doctor about any changes in your eyesight, including blurry vision, muscle pain along with a fever or tired feeling or if you are planning to father a child. Some of the most common side effects of Lyrica are dizziness and sleepiness. Others are weight gain, blurry vision, dry mouth, feeling "high," swelling of hands and feet and trouble concentrating. You may have a higher chance of swelling, hives or gaining weight if you are also taking certain diabetes or high blood pressure medicines. Do not drive or operate machinery until you know how Lyrica affects you. Do not drink alcohol while taking Lyrica. Be especially careful about medicines that make you sleepy. If you have had a drug or alcohol problem, you may be more likely to misuse Lyrica. Talk with your doctor before you stop taking Lyrica or any other prescription medication.

Please see important patient information on adjacent pages.

To learn more visit www.lyrica.com or call toll-free 1-888-9-LYRICA (1-888-959-7422).

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA.

Visit www.FDA.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

PATIENT INFORMATION

Lyrice® (pregabalin) Capsules C (LEER-I-kah)

Read the Patient Information that comes with LYRICA before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment. If you have any questions about LYRICA, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?

1. LYRICA may cause serious allergic reactions.
 - Call your doctor right away if you think you have any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction:
 - swelling of the face, mouth, lips, gums, tongue or neck
 - have any trouble breathing
 - Other allergic reactions may include rash, hives and blisters.
2. LYRICA may cause dizziness and sleepiness.
 - Do not drive a car, work with machines, or do other dangerous activities until you know how LYRICA affects how alert you are. Ask your doctor when it is okay to do these activities.
3. LYRICA may cause problems with your eyesight, including blurry vision.
 - Call your doctor if you have any changes in your eyesight.

What is LYRICA?

LYRICA is a prescription medicine used in adults, 18 years and older, to treat:

- pain from damaged nerves (neuropathic pain) that happens with diabetes
- pain from damaged nerves (neuropathic pain) that follows healing of shingles (a painful rash that comes after a herpes zoster infection)
- partial seizures when taken together with other seizure medicines
- fibromyalgia

LYRICA has not been studied in children under 18 years of age.

Pain from Damaged Nerves (neuropathic pain)

Diabetes and shingles can damage your nerves. Pain from damaged nerves may feel sharp, burning, tingling, shooting, or numb. If you have diabetes, the pain can be in your arms, hands, fingers, legs, feet, or toes. If you have shingles, the pain is in the area of your rash. You may experience this kind of pain even with a very light touch. LYRICA can help relieve the pain. Some people taking LYRICA had less pain by the end of the first week of LYRICA therapy. LYRICA may not work for everyone.

Partial Seizures

Partial seizures start in one part of the brain. A seizure can make you fearful, confused, or just feel "funny". You may smell strange smells. A seizure may cause your arm or leg to jerk or shake. It can spread to other parts of your brain, make you pass out, and cause your whole body to start jerking.

LYRICA can lower the number of seizures for people who are already taking seizure medicine.

Fibromyalgia

Fibromyalgia is a condition which includes widespread muscle pain and difficulty performing daily activities. LYRICA can help relieve the pain and improve function. Some people taking LYRICA had less pain by the end of the first week of LYRICA therapy. LYRICA may not work for everyone.

Who Should Not Take LYRICA?

Do not take LYRICA if you are allergic to any of its ingredients. The active ingredient is pregabalin. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in LYRICA.

What should I tell my doctor before taking LYRICA? Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions, including if you:

- have any kidney problems or get kidney dialysis
- have heart problems including heart failure
- have a bleeding problem or a low blood platelet count
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if LYRICA may harm your unborn baby. You and your doctor will have to decide if LYRICA is right for you while you are pregnant.
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if LYRICA passes into breast milk and if it can harm your baby. You and your doctor should decide whether you should take LYRICA or breastfeed, but not both.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription or non-prescription medicines, vitamins or herbal supplements. LYRICA and other medicines may affect each other. Especially tell your doctor if you take:

- angiotensin converting enzyme (ACE) inhibitors. You may have a higher chance for swelling and hives if these medicines are taken with LYRICA. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- Avandia® (rosiglitazone) or Actos® (pioglitazone) for diabetes. You may have a higher chance of weight gain or swelling if these medicines are taken with LYRICA. See "What are the possible side effects of LYRICA."
- any narcotic pain medicine (such as oxycodone), tranquilizers or medicines for anxiety (such as lorazepam). You may have a higher chance for dizziness and sleepiness if these medicines are taken with LYRICA. See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- any medicines that make you sleepy

Know all the medicines you take. Keep a list of them with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

Tell your doctor if you plan to father a child. Animal studies showed that pregabalin, the active ingredient in LYRICA, made male animals less fertile and caused sperm abnormalities. Also, in animal studies, birth defects occurred in the offspring of male animals who were treated with pregabalin. It is not known if these effects would happen in people.

How should I take LYRICA?

- Take LYRICA exactly as prescribed. Your doctor may adjust your dose during treatment. Do not change your dose without talking to your doctor.

- Do not stop taking LYRICA suddenly without talking to your doctor. If you stop taking LYRICA suddenly, you may have headaches, nausea, diarrhea or trouble sleeping. Talk with your doctor about how to slowly stop LYRICA.
- LYRICA is usually taken 2 or 3 times a day, depending on your medical condition. Your doctor will tell you how much LYRICA to take and when to take it. Take LYRICA at the same times each day.
- LYRICA may be taken with or without food.
- If you miss a dose by a few hours, take it as soon as you remember. If it is close to your next dose, just take LYRICA at your next regular time. **Do not** take two doses at the same time.
- If you take too much LYRICA, call your doctor or poison control center or go to the nearest emergency room right away.

What Should I Avoid While Taking LYRICA?

- **Do not drive a car, work with machines, or do other dangerous activities until you know how LYRICA affects how alert you are.** See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- **Do not drink alcohol while taking LYRICA.** LYRICA and alcohol can affect each other and increase side effects such as sleepiness and dizziness. This can be dangerous.

Do not take other medicines without talking to your doctor.

Other medicines include prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. LYRICA and other medicines may affect each other and increase the side effects of swelling, sleepiness and dizziness. Be especially careful about medicines that make you sleepy (such as sleeping pills, anxiety medicines, tranquilizers and some antihistamines, pain relievers and seizure medicines).

What are the possible side effects of LYRICA?

LYRICA may cause side effects including:

- **allergic reactions.** See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- **weight gain and swelling of the hands and feet (edema).** Weight gain may affect the management of diabetes. Weight gain and swelling can also be a serious problem for people with heart problems.
- **dizziness and sleepiness.** See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- **eyesight problems.** See "What is the most important information I should know about LYRICA?"
- **unexplained muscle problems, such as muscle pain, soreness, or weakness.** If you develop these symptoms, especially if you also feel sick and have a fever, tell your doctor right away.

The most common side effects of LYRICA are:

- dizziness
- blurry vision
- weight gain
- sleepiness
- trouble concentrating
- swelling of hands and feet
- dry mouth

LYRICA caused skin sores in animals. Although skin sores were not seen in studies in people, if you have diabetes, you should pay extra attention to your skin while taking LYRICA and tell your doctor of any sores or skin problems.

LYRICA may cause some people to feel "high." Tell your doctor, if you have abused prescription medicines, street drugs, or alcohol in the past.

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects of LYRICA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

How should I store LYRICA?

- Store LYRICA at room temperature, 59 to 86° F (15 to 30° C) in its original package.
- Safely throw away LYRICA that is out of date or no longer needed.
- **Keep LYRICA and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

General information about LYRICA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions other than those listed in patient information leaflets. Do not use LYRICA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give LYRICA to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

This leaflet summarizes the most important information about LYRICA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about LYRICA that is written for health professionals.

You can also visit the LYRICA website at www.LYRICA.com or call 1-866-4LYRICA.

What are the ingredients in LYRICA?

Active ingredient: pregabalin

Inactive ingredients: lactose monohydrate, cornstarch, talc;

Capsule shell: gelatin and titanium dioxide; Orange capsule shell: red iron oxide; White capsule shell: sodium lauryl sulfate, colloidal silicon dioxide. Colloidal silicon dioxide is a manufacturing aid that may or may not be present in the capsule shells.

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June 2007

Postcard: Pasadena. At Caltech, basketball is the dismal science: the team hasn't won a league game since 1985. Air balls and astrophysics with the country's worst college hoops team

BY SEAN GREGORY

AN APPLIED-MATH MAJOR, TRAVIS Haussler knows plenty about probability. But when asked to explain how the universe could allow Caltech, the college basketball team on which he plays, to lose 273 straight league games since 1985, Haussler is stumped. The Beavers—nature's engineers—had just dropped another heartbreaker, an overtime defeat to the University of La Verne, 80-74. Playing on its home court in Pasadena, the California Institute of Technology (Caltech's full name) had a 9-point lead in the first half. Yet the Beavers kept the most infamous streak in college hoops alive. "One little rebound, one little loose ball—if one part of the system gets perturbed a little bit, we win," says Haussler, staring blankly at a locker-room wall. "If you want to look at it scientifically."

GLOBAL DISPATCH
For a new postcard from around the world every day, visit time.com

March Madness, that postseason basketball binge of million-dollar sponsorships under the guise of amateur athletics, is upon us once again. The players at Caltech, who compete in the NCAA's Division III, its lowest rung, will never get an invite to that party. Playoffs? Caltech coach Roy Dow is looking for kids who can hang on to the ball. The team just finished 1-24 and, for the 23rd straight season, failed to win a game in the Southern California Intercollegiate Athletic Conference. The legendary science-and-engineering school may have 31 Nobel Prize winners to its name, and, sure, Einstein studied there. On the court, however, Caltech is light-years away from a championship.

Just eight of Caltech's 15 players even played on their high school hoops team. And if they gain any attention on the court now, it's just for being part of a spectacular losing tradition; the team and their coach are featured in a strangely inspiring documentary,



Pop talk Caltech's coach rallies his team at halftime during a recent game. The Beavers lost. Again

Quantum Hoops, which will be out on DVD this spring.

With all the losing, why do the players bother playing ball? Basketball can be a 25-hours-a-week commitment. Shouldn't they use that time to get a head start on problem sets instead of slogging through practice after pulling all-nighters? "I have often asked myself that question," says Yang Hai, a 6-ft., 140-lb. (1.83 m, 63.5 kg) bench player. "I'm not that good. The team's not that good. What am I doing here?"

There is actually a very rational reason why these winners in life continue coming out for a losing team. "It keeps me sane," says Ben Faber, a freshman who plans to study theoretical physics. The

school is a notorious pressure cooker, where even the summers are filled with high-stakes science. For example, freshman Ryan Elmquist will be mixing molecules for a Nobel Prize-winning chemist this summer. ("Ryan is going to be loving proton nuclear magnetic resonance spectroscopy," says the grad student supervising Elmquist's work.) Even a crushing loss can be something of an escape.

Will Caltech ever shine on the court? Dow is a committed coach. He just wishes the administration would show more support for sports. "The school strives for excellence in so many endeavors," he says. "Why should this other experience be so poor?" At other Division III schools, coaches and admissions officers often work together to identify potential players and set aside spots for a few who may not qualify academically for the school. Dow says he has a "nonexistent" relationship with the Caltech admissions office. "People here aren't comfortable with any guarantees," says Caltech admissions director Rick Bischoff.

There are signs of improvement, if not a quantum leap. Four years ago, the team lost by an average of 60 points, dropping games with scores like 108-16 and 127-32. This season Caltech lost by 29 points per game, took two league opponents into overtime and, for the second consecutive year, won a nonleague game (the team bounced Gallaudet in December). "We've had two straight winning seasons," brags Haussler, before correcting himself. "O.K., two seasons with a win." He laughs. "The paradigm is just different around here."



Today Joan wondered about national politics and office politics...

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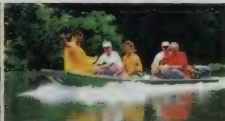
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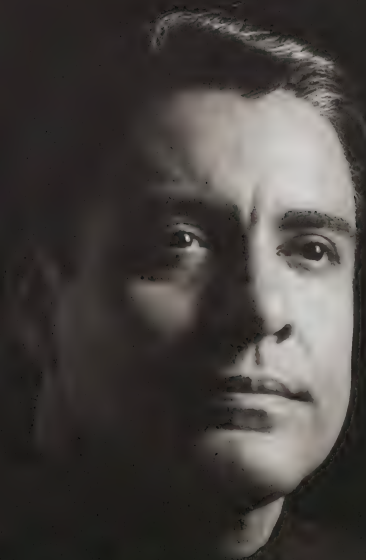
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Inbox



Quality in the Classroom

IF WE VALUE OUR CHILDREN AS THE HOPE of the future, why are we so stingy with their education [Feb. 25]? Would a doctor, lawyer or engineer pursue many costly years of education to earn little more than \$30,000 a year? Combine that with no mentoring and escalating school violence, and we are recruiting a teaching staff from the bottom of the barrel. Why should the teaching profession be equated with a calling or sainthood? The solution is to pay beginning teachers at least \$50,000 and pair them with mentors. Hire smart graduates with majors in their teaching field. Only then will we be able to recruit and develop great teachers.

Gail Rosewater
SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO

AS THE HUSBAND OF A VETERAN

teacher who has taught in three states, I've observed that the pay could always be better, but the bigger issue is morale. So many great teachers are observed to death, are stacked with unnecessary paperwork, are told to meet arbitrary goals and have their hands tied so tightly that they can't teach with passion, get their work done or find any time to recoup. The statistics you cited put poor salary as the fourth of six reasons

for "Why Teachers Quit." What is being done to alleviate the first three? Nothing. Most schools have been turned into test-score factories. Just because something is measurable doesn't mean it's the key issue.

Art Stafford, SMITHFIELD, VA.

MAILBAG

Biggest mail getter: Nurturing teachers



We won't make teachers better until we increase their autonomy and decrease class size



We won't make teachers better until we reward accomplishment with merit pay

MERIT PAY FOR EDUCATORS IS not the answer to making great teachers or improving our nation's public schools. Most teachers accept low pay before they enter the profession because they are driven by a desire to make a difference in the lives of children. I have been teaching middle-school math in the Bronx for five years, and I am pretty certain that merit pay would not give me more time to plan my lessons, motivate students whose parents aren't involved or decrease my class size, nor would it give me the

freedom and creativity to help form individuals rather than test-taking machines.

Matthew P. Suhu, NEW YORK CITY

I HAVE TAUGHT FOR NINE YEARS IN PUBLIC high schools and want to offer some more suggestions to improve teaching besides pay incentives. Parents, teach your children to stop cussing me out, being physically abusive and using iPods and cell

A SPIRITED OBJECTION

As an atheist—and thus a member of the most despised minority on the planet—I found Amy Sullivan's

LETTER FROM AN ATHEIST

"Finding Their Faith" maddening [Feb. 25]. That the Democrats are kowtowing to 21st century Elmer Gantroys for the sole purpose of bringing Bible thumpers into their big tent reeks of political expediency. It's the sort of opportunism that Democrats have lambasted Republicans for engaging in, but now everyone has joined the crusade. Meanwhile, those of us who recognize the danger of mixing religion and government continue to be relegated to the dustbin of contemporary politics.

Jan Serlsen, CANON CITY, COLO.

phones in class. Teach your children not to be spoiled, pouting brats when I enforce class rules and school policies. And when you meet with me, do not insinuate that I am disorganized, incompetent and unable to run my classroom, but treat me as a professional. The best teachers are parents.

Kathy Cail, LOUISVILLE, KY.

See How They Run

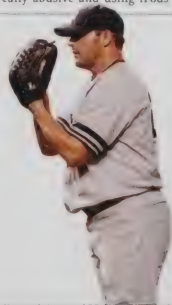
JOE KLEIN IGNORED THE MOST IMPORTANT reason Barack Obama is winning: media adoration [Feb. 25]. Where is the scrutiny of Obama's flawed policy proposals, his attacks on Clinton's proposals, his business dealings and his record in the Illinois state legislature? Millions of us find Clinton very inspiring. We believe we are electing a President, not a television evangelist.

Horace Newton Barker Jr.
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.



'Am I alone in not caring about Roger Clemens' congressional testimony? The essence of baseball will remain long after the steroids era is history. Enough is enough. Play ball.'

Robert S. Nussbaum, FORT LEE, N.J.



Making a mountain of a pitcher's mound?

The Rocket has denied accusations that he faked up with banned substances—for those who care to listen

A PRETTY FACE, A POP-STAR AURA AND CLICHÉS about welfare: justice, freedom and change are all a candidate needs to lure ecstatic audiences into believing the new messiah has arrived. Obama's charisma obliterates the emptiness of his message. Too bad for Clinton. Her voice is too shrill, her laughter too loud and her tears too easy. Who cares about her profound knowledge,

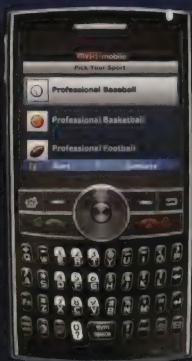
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Index

her long experience with Washington's maze and ways, and her useful insight into the Republicans' bag of tricks? Yet such qualities will be vital in November.

Herman D'Hollander, ANTWERP, BELGIUM

Voting—or Not—for Mr. Nice Guy

IN THE PAGE, RUSH MOUTH RUSH LIMBAUGH blasted Senator John McCain for "getting things done by sitting down with Democrats" [Feb. 25]. Is it any wonder that our political environment is so divisive and partisan? I won't vote for McCain, but if there is one thing I like about him, it is that he can put partisanship aside and team up with Democrats to get something done—just as he did with Senator Russ Feingold to enact campaign finance reform. Oh, I forgot, conservatives don't approve of campaign finance reform either. Is the age of reason gone forever?

Erik Stotrup, WAUPACA, WIS.

MICHAEL KINSLEY SUGGESTED THAT THE Republicans will nominate a presidential candidate admired more by the opposition than by the GOP [Feb. 25]. I am a Democrat, and I greatly admire the courage and mettle that McCain exhibited as a soldier in captivity. But admiring a man for who he is and admiring a man for his policies are two different things. I disagree with McCain's stances on the Iraq war, health care, abortion and taxation, so I won't vote for him. But that does not mean that I fail to acknowledge his heroic gift to our country. Thank you, John McCain.

Sybil Hinkle, NAPA, CALIF.

IT'S TRUE THAT MCCAIN IS A NICE GUY with a good sense of humor. But if Kinsley thinks that Democrats are going to vote for his 100-year war in Iraq and welfare for corporations and the super rich, he's dreaming. Is Kinsley really a Democrat?

Steve Davis, WASHINGTON

KINSLEY IS SO RIGHT. AFTER ALL THE chicken hawks we've had in the current Administration, how dare those dastardly Republicans nominate a man who did not avoid fighting in his generation's war and

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ The Feb. 25 article on the reasons not to delay buying real estate included an incorrect figure regarding a hypothetical \$218,900 house that might cost 10% less in 12 months. If the interest rate rises to 6%, the monthly payment would be \$944.94 (not \$994.94). Either the house price would have to drop only 5% or the interest rate would have to rise to 6.5% for the purchaser to save nothing by waiting a year to buy.

wound up serving time in a POW camp? Knowing first-hand that war is indeed hell, McCain would probably not deploy troops until he has explored all other options. No wonder the right-wing nuts are incensed. Why, I might vote Republican myself for the first time in 32 years. Those Republicans are so devious.

Larry Roth, KANSAS CITY, MO.

The Oscars Bloop Reel

RICHARD CORLISS THINKS SHAKESPEARE in *Love* and its leading lady, Gwyneth Paltrow, were not Oscar worthy [Feb. 25]? The film has the cleverest plot, most literate dialogue and best acting and musical score, all while offering hilarity and heartbreak, romance and cold calculation. It succeeds marvelously in every way. As for Paltrow, if talent were possessed of speed, light itself would lag behind her. She gave a breathtaking performance as both Lady Viola and Thomas Kent and got only one Oscar for it. What was the Academy thinking?

Alan B. Posner, ROYAL OAK, MICH.

EVERY SHOW, AWARD OR LIST WILL HAVE its doubters. The Academy has made many goofs, but often subsequent adulation vindicates its oversight. After receiving the Lifetime Achievement Award, Charlie Chaplin got one of the longest standing ovations in Oscar history. I don't think he would have exchanged that experience for a competitive Oscar he missed out on during his career.

Anurag Chatrath, EDINBURGH

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"Real change has to come from each and every one of us." — CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

Briefing

THE MOMENT



Citizen Soldiers. The Golden State enlists its most reliable emergency responders ever

AT PRECISELY 1:09 P.M. ON Feb. 26, all but four of the 2,670 traffic lights in Miami-Dade County, Fla., went dark. A blackout, sparked by a fire, crept up the state, affecting 4 million people. Traffic choked the roadways. The nuclear reactors at the Turkey Point power plant shut down. As air conditioning faded on an 84°F (29°C) day, thousands wandered into the streets.

Coincidentally, on the very same day in California, the other state that understands what it is like to routinely plunge into near and total

catastrophe, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was announcing a quiet revolution. Stunned by what he had recently seen in his own state—neighbors saving one another from wildfires, an oil spill that drew thousands of unsolicited, underutilized cleanup volunteers (*above*)—he created a new cabinet-level post to manage volunteers.

As with universal health care and greenhouse-gas caps, Schwarzenegger and California are once again doing what the rest of the country shoulda done but didn't. After

Hurricane Katrina, the secret was out that government alone would never be able to manage big disasters. First responders like firefighters and police make up less than 1% of the population. They cannot be everywhere—or even most places. So the vast majority of rescues are done by regular

California is once again doing what the country should have done but didn't

people. The problem is, regular people have almost never been intelligently engaged in emergency planning—until, perhaps, now. "It's a brilliant move," says Wendy Spencer, head of Florida's volunteerism

commission. "Others will pay attention. You'll have mayors, emergency managers saying, 'Wow, if it's that important to the governor, maybe we need to look at this.'"

In Florida the power was mostly back on by evening. But when the Big One shakes down California, people will be on their own—in the pre-industrial sense—for three to five days: no electricity, gas, running water or phone service. Everyone will be a volunteer, which will be a euphemism for *survivor*. "The first person who is going to help you is your neighbor," says Karen Baker, California's new secretary of service and volunteering. "So we want your neighbor to know how."

—BY AMANDA RIPLEY

A photograph showing a group of men in white uniforms, some wearing berets, holding rifles and standing in front of a large, rocky mountain. The scene appears to be outdoors, possibly in a mountainous region.

Turkish troops hunt Kurdish rebel targets



Photo of Anne Frank beau discovered



"Doomsday" vault holding millions of crop seeds

WASHINGTON
MEMO

WASHINGTON MEMO EVEN AS THE U.S. military slowly withdraws from Iraq, the flow of additional U.S. forces into Afghanistan—to what many in the U.S. military call the “forgotten war”—is on the rise. By late this summer, 32,000 American troops are scheduled to be in Afghanistan, the most in more than six years of combat. Beyond highlighting the resilience of the U.S. military, it also showcases the increasing irrelevance of NATO, which is supposed to be leading the fight. Some key alliance members—France, Germany, Italy and Spain—are refusing to send troops to battle the Taliban or placing “caveats” limiting their deployment to peaceful regions and missions. “Someone needs to read the riot act to NATO,” says Anthony Zinni, a retired U.S. general who oversaw U.S. military efforts in Afghanistan from 1997 to 2000. “They don’t get points just for attendance.”

Although the Bush Administration insists things are getting bet-



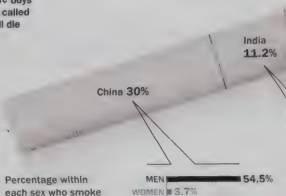
ter in Afghanistan, suicide bombings and U.S. casualties are mounting. And the Taliban has just threatened Afghanistan's cell-phone companies with attacks unless they shut down at night so that cell-phone-carrying insurgents can't be tracked electronically. In addition to its military woes, Washington has spent months vainly seeking an international envoy to lead reconstruction efforts inside the country.

The Bush Administration's shift in U.S. troop strength echoes what many Democrats have been calling for since the Iraq war began. "We're paying a terrible price for diverting our forces and resources to Iraq from Afghanistan," says Senator Joseph Biden, the Delaware Democrat and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. And it could get worse: if the Taliban insurgency prevails, Zinni and others fear that Pakistan, Afghanistan's nuclear-armed neighbor, could descend into chaos and NATO itself could collapse. —BY

MARK THOMPSON

Smoked Out

If global trends continue, by 2030 more than 8 million people will die each year from tobacco-related causes—80% in the developing world. Among other things, a new study finds that in India, where 120 million smoke and 5¢ buys 10 small cigarettes called *bidis*, 1 in 5 men will die from smoking.



Ford Exodus

With its auto sales down 12% in 2007, Ford Motor Co. is looking to cut 8,000 workers from its factory force by offering big buyouts. Chrysler and GM have announced similar moves, but Ford's options are the best of the bunch. Here are three of the 10 available proposals:



Tuition plans target
workers wanting to go
back to school. Health
care and half salaries
make it an alluring
option

A plan aimed at younger employees provides \$50,000 to start a new business and five years of health insurance

Briefing



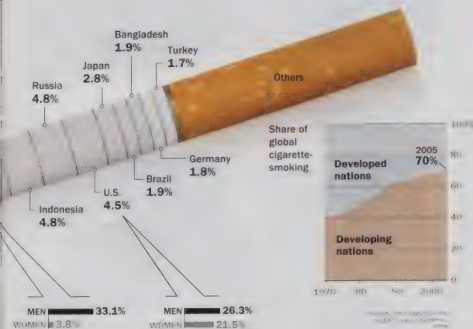
YAMAL PENINSULA, RUSSIA

Early voting for presidential election begins in remote regions

BELGRADE

Serbian nationalists set fire to U.S. embassy after riots

opens



BY THE NUMBERS

A Disaster Re-Examined

It has been almost two decades since the **Exxon Valdez** oil spill, in which a tanker dumped millions of gallons of crude oil into Alaska's Prince William Sound. Now after a lengthy legal battle over one of the most environmentally disastrous events in U.S. history, the Supreme Court is hearing Exxon's appeal. A look back at the case:

1989

YEAR OF THE SPILL The waters near Cordova, Alaska, were coated with oil, killing hundreds of thousands of animals and effectively destroying the livelihoods of many residents depending on the fishing industry

11 million

GALLONS OF OIL SPILLED The tanker was carrying a total of 53 million gallons

1,000 ft.

THE SHIP'S LENGTH The skipper responsible for the accident, Joseph Hazelwood, was accused of drunkenly crashing the **Exxon Valdez** into a reef but was later acquitted

33,000

NUMBER OF PLAINTIFFS Many of the area's residents claim to have been plagued with depression as a result of the spill

\$2.5 billion

DAMAGES An Anchorage jury awarded victims \$5 billion in punitive damages in 1994, but that number was halved in 2006 by a federal appeals court. Having spent \$3.5 billion on cleanup, Exxon maintains that the damages are excessive and the company should not be held liable for Hazelwood's actions

ECONOMICS

The Potato Panic

EAT OR STAY WARM The price of wheat reached an all-time high of more than \$12 per bu. on Feb. 25. The culprit, in part, was the price of crude oil, which has surged back above \$100 per bbl. Ironically, high prices for basic foods like potatoes and eggs have also been causing unrest in the oil-rich Middle East.

SOCIAL FALLOUT After remaining almost stagnant for a decade, inflation has reached at least 6.5% in Saudi Arabia. Protests and riots have ensued in some nations.

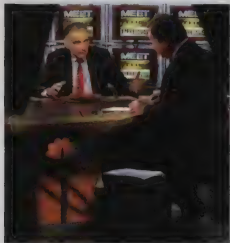


TAKE THE CASH

A large lump-sum payout might entice those ready to retire, but a tax-deferred plan may ultimately prove a safer bet

The Page

Campaign Insider. The activist and perennial candidate is spoiling for a fight



Self-advocate Nader, seen here on Meet the Press Feb. 24 announcing his '08 presidential run, is confident that his candidacy won't harm Dems

Newly announced presidential candidate Ralph Nader spoke with TIME's Jay Newton-Smith about his 2008 bid. Read the full interview at time.com/nader.

Q. Are you worried about being a spoiler?

A. Now wait a minute. That is a politically bigoted word. The two parties have spoiled this country. They've spoiled the electoral process—made it very difficult for candidates who can't raise the cash to move in and sustain themselves. They've spoiled our government. They're the spoilers.

Q. But does your candidacy make it more difficult for the Democrats to win the White House?

A. No, I think they're going to win big. John McCain, if he is the nominee, given his statements and his position on Iraq, seems to be the candidate of permanent war and intervention. That is just not the popular position today. If he continues with that, then he won't be able to keep his electoral position at all.

Q. What issues are being ignored in this campaign?

A. The whole idea of freedom, diversity and choice inside the electoral arena is a major issue, especially as the overwhelming power of commercial money in our elections has drawn the two parties into more and more of a convergence on corporate-power issues. One metaphor for [my] campaign could be the tugboat campaign, pushing candidates toward the harbor of the people and away from the harbor of giant corporations.

Politics up to the minute

Mark Halperin reports from the campaign every day on thepage.time.com



STYLE CHECK

The recent brouhaha over a picture of Barack Obama wearing traditional garb during a trip to Kenya inspired a look back at other politicians and their ceremonial attire.



DEBATE REPORT CARD

The Final Showdown?

Mark Halperin grades the Feb. 26 Democratic debate—the 20th and last one before the critical Ohio and Texas contests on March 4.



HILLARY CLINTON

A performance that would have been adequate were she not struggling to stay in the game. Overall, Clinton

veered between strong and effective, shrill and affronted



BARACK OBAMA

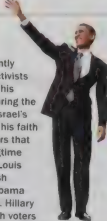
Avoided lofty rhetoric and focused on presenting himself as deliberative and substantive. Obama more than survived

(and even thrived at times) in what could be his final debate with Clinton

GOD-O-METER

Wooing Jews

Barack Obama met recently with about 100 Jewish activists to assuage doubts about his commitment to Israel (during the Feb. 26 debate, he said Israel's "security is sacrosanct"), his faith (in the face of false rumors that he's Muslim) and his longtime pastor (who has praised Louis Farrakhan). Several Jewish leaders have defended Obama against the Islam rumors. Hillary Clinton won among Jewish voters



In New York and Maryland, but Obama won Jews in Connecticut and California. Is the wooing working? Exit polls in Texas and Ohio on March 4 should tell which candidate is the chosen people's choice.



For daily God-O-Meter readings covering all the presidential candidates, visit beliefnet.com

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

SECLARIST

THEOCRAT

Verbatim

'Fidel is irreplaceable.'

RAUL CASTRO, Cuba's new President, paying homage to his older brother, who stepped down on Feb. 19 after 49 years in power



'I'm like a man with no country.'

MOHAMMAD BARIKBIN, Iranian immigrant who has waited more than three years for the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services to process his citizenship application. He has joined others in suing the agency over the delay



'Then get out of here, you total jerk.'

NICOLAS SARKOZY, President of France, to a man who accused the increasingly unpopular leader of "dirtying" him while greeting constituents at a Paris trade fair. A video of the outburst posted the next day by the newspaper *Le Parisien* tallied more than half a million hits in just a few hours

'It's a total waste of time and money.'

LORD FOULKES OF CUMNOCK, member of Britain's Intelligence and Security Committee, calling for an end to the "circus" inquest into Princess Diana's death, which began last October



'In Pakistan, the people have spoken.'

IFTEKHAR AHMED CHOWDHURY, Bangladesh's Foreign Minister, dismissing the notion that a defeat of Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf's party could lead to instability in the region

'This song was written from the perspective of hope, and hope at the end of the day connects us all, no matter how different we are.'

MARKETA IRGLOVA, musician, after winning an Academy Award for the song *Falling Slowly* from the movie *Once*. Host Jon Stewart brought her back onstage after the orchestra accidentally cut off her words following co-songwriter Glen Hansard's acceptance speech



NUMBERS

TEEN DRIVING

29.8%

Percentage of 16-year-olds with a driver's license, down from 43.8% in 1998, thanks to tighter state laws, high insurance costs and the expense of private driving schools

20%

Percentage of school systems offering driver's education programs, compared with 90% in the 1980s

SUPREME COURT

0

Number of times over the past two years that Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas has asked a question during any of the court's oral arguments

144

Number of cases that have been brought before the court since he last commented, on Feb. 22, 2006, during a death-penalty case

GAMBLING

\$1.97 million

Amount that a British man won on a Feb. 22 horse bet at William Hill bookmakers in North Yorkshire, England, where he is a regular customer



98¢

Amount placed in his bet on eight horses. He placed similar bets on an almost daily basis. The odds of winning were 2 million to 1

ECONOMY

58%

Percentage of Americans who say their income is falling behind the rising cost of living, compared with 44% who said the same six months ago

13%

Percentage who cite housing as the biggest economic problem

Sources: New York Times; AP; Guardian; AFP; Chicago Tribune; For Research Only

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Sources: Reuters; USA Today; AP; Guardian; AFP; Chicago Tribune

People



Q & A

Talking with Jessica Lange

The two-time Oscar winner plays a grieving widow in *Bonneville*, about a trio of friends who set out on a life-changing road trip.

What was most challenging about playing a widow? Being specific. I wanted to present the role as a piece of music that I was composing. There were the adagio sections, the allegro sections, so that it had a tempo to it somehow.

Where did you draw your inspiration from? That's where Joan Didion's book [*The Year of Magical Thinking*] came in. I kept it next to my bed and traveled with it every day to and from the set. I would sometimes pick it up, just open any page, and that would help inform what I was doing. It was amazing.

You have natural chemistry with co-stars Kathy Bates and Joan Allen. Are you friends? We got really lucky, because that effortlessness doesn't always happen. I'd worked with Kathy only once before, and I didn't know Joan. But we found a way to work together that was really organic. And we are friends now. I speak to them often.

Is this a film all women can relate to? Hopefully. I hope some men come to see it. [Laughs.] Women want to see *The Bucket List*, so maybe some guys will show up. It's about friendship—how it moves, how it evolves, what it means to these women.



European sweep

It was international night at this year's Oscars. Best Supporting Actor went to JAVIER BARDEM, the first Spanish actor to win an Oscar, while France's MARION COTILLARD won Best Actress. Brits DANIEL DAY-LEWIS and TILDA SWINTON nabbed Best Actor and Supporting Actress.

Flop finds fan base

JESSICA SIMPSON has finally succeeded as a movie star—in Ukraine. Her film *Blonde Ambition*, which made it to only eight Texas theaters, is box-office gold in the East European nation, where it hit No. 1 for the weekend of Feb. 14.



The real Slim Shady

Fans got a peek at EMINEM's life in the semiautobiographical movie *8 Mile*. Now the controversial rapper, who has recently fallen off the pop-culture radar, plans to release a tell-all memoir full of photos, sketches and journal notes.

CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

Finalized. ANGELINA JOLIE and BRAD PITT's adoption of their son Pax, from Vietnam, by a Los Angeles County judge

Born. Fraternal twins, to JENNIFER LOPEZ and MARC ANTHONY. The boy and girl are Lopez's first children

Returning. *Dog the Bounty Hunter*, to A&E. Production of the hit show was halted in November after star DUANE (DOG) CHAPMAN was caught using a racial slur in reference to his son's girlfriend

Lobbied Congress. GERI HALLIWELL, a.k.a. Ginger Spice, for maternal health care and AIDS relief, as part of her role as a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations Population Fund

Set a record. LINDSAY LOHAN's movie *I Know Who Killed Me*, which won eight Razzie awards, beating previous record holders *Showgirls* and *Battlefield Earth*. The dishonors are presented to the year's worst films

Milestones

DIED FIRST HE WAS A PIVOTAL Balkan politician, then an eccentric New Age guru. The earnest **Janez Drnovsek** led Slovenia to independence from Yugoslavia in 1991 and, as its popular Prime Minister and President, built coalitions, revamped the economy and brought the country into NATO and the E.U.—the only former Yugoslav republic to join either. After learning in 2001 that he had a recurrence of cancer, the President claimed a “higher consciousness.” He ditched his palace for



a mountain cabin, renounced “all things evil,” became a vegan and resolutely pushed for peace, often unsuccessfully, on diplomatic missions around the world. Drnovsek was 57.

■ FOR 32 YEARS, THE WAIFISH Bolshoi Ballet prima ballerina **Natalia Bessmertnova** entranced critics with her quick, intense energy and poetic style in classic and contemporary productions,

including *Giselle*, *Swan Lake* and *Spartacus*. In 1995 she took on another role when her husband, Bolshoi artistic director Yuri Grigorovich, quit amid a dispute with management over plans for his replacement. Bessmertnova and her fellow dancers refused to perform for a night. The historic strike caused the company's first cancellation in more than two centuries. She was 66 and reportedly had kidney trouble.

■ JILLIARD GRADUATE, SAX player, two-time Guggenheim Fellowship recipient and composer—**Teo Macero** was all of the above and famous for none of it. But in the early 1960s, after taking a job at Columbia Records, he became one of the era's most celebrated producers. Best known for his long, occasionally combative collaboration with Miles Davis—whom Macero likened to a spouse—Macero had unusual latitude to cut and shape Davis' improvisations, often co-creating pieces. Among the albums he oversaw: Davis' *Bitches Brew*, *In a Silent Way* and the monumentally influential *Kind of Blue*, as well as such pop collections as Simon and Garfunkel's sound track for *The Graduate* and the original Broadway cast recording of *A Chorus Line*. Macero was 82.



Bessmertnova

■ HE WAS THE KIND OF GUY you wanted on your side of the table. Savvy, funny, easygoing and biting toward adversaries, **Douglas Fraser**, president of the United Auto Workers from 1977 to 1983, took on issues ranging from rising health costs to encroaching competition from Japanese carmakers and managed to win the respect of workers and Big Three executives alike. The UAW's deep concessions during the economically challenging years of his tenure angered many. But the Scottish-born labor leader, who got his start as a local leader in the '40s, won more than he lost, including landmark comprehensive health care and uncapped cost-of-living allowances. In 1979 his impassioned lobbying was credited with securing the \$1.5 billion in federal

loan guarantees that rescued Chrysler from bankruptcy. Fraser was 91.

■ ADMIRERS CALLED THE CIVIL rights activist an “icon,” a “spark plug” and a “mother figure.” For **Johnnie Carr**, Rosa Parks' childhood friend who helped engineer the landmark bus boycott that led to the desegregation of public transportation in Montgomery, Ala., history-making was not the point. “We were thinking about conditions and discrimination,” she said. As a member turned president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (she succeeded the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.), she organized car pools during the boycott and enrolled her son in the all-white Montgomery school system in a legal test case. Carr was 97.

APPRECIATION

The Crusader

If being a conservative always led to a life like that of **William F. Buckley Jr.**, there would be no more liberals. The mansions and yachts, the cocktails and champagne and cigars, the fabulous wife, the *Who's Who* of friends and, somehow wedged in, enough career for five large lives.

For a half-century, Buckley, who died Wednesday at the age of 82, was chief spokesman for the signal political phenomenon of late 20th century America:

the rise of conservatism. The son of an oilman, he leveraged his wealth with energy, passion and cheerful relentlessness. He wrote books laying out the conservative worldview; launched a magazine, *National Review*, to nurture and promote it; and created one of the longest-running shows in public-television history, *Firing Line*, to broadcast his views to millions. He could get things completely wrong—including civil rights. But what made him formidable was the number of



things he got right. Buckley almost single-handedly drove anti-Semitism out of acceptable conservative thought. He was leery of Ayn Rand, Richard Nixon and the Iraq war. And he was a staunch anti-communist. His fixed star was the idea of human freedom. A sure applause line in presidential candidate Barack Obama's speeches this year holds that “it's possible to disagree without being disagreeable.” William F. Buckley Jr. was proof. —BY DAVID VON DREHLE



James

Poniewozik

Hillary's SNL Strategy. With assists from Amy Poehler and Tina Fey, Clinton tries to close the crucial entertainment-video gap

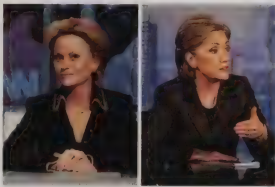
THE FEB. 26 DEMOCRATIC DEBATE IN Cleveland was a clash of styles and a battle of ideas, but above all, it was an example of the benefits of corporate vertical integration in TV. Hillary Clinton used one NBC Universal property (*Saturday Night Live*) to attack another NBC Universal property (MSNBC, the debate host) for its treatment of her. Clinton—whose aides have fiercely criticized her coverage—complained to Brian Williams that she is repeatedly asked the first question at the debates, then referenced a Feb. 23 skit that showed debate moderators grilling Amy Poehler's Clinton while tossing softballs to Obama. "If anybody saw *Saturday Night Live*," she said, "you know, maybe we should ask Barack if he's comfortable and needs another pillow."

You want synergy? You want meta-referentiality? Clinton got in a shot at the media. *SNL* got political validation—a sketch about debates becoming the central moment at a debate. MSNBC got guaranteed free publicity from media folks like myself who love to obsess on the importance of media. Everybody wins!

Politically, Clinton's barb may have been too elliptical and insider-y for voters at home. (In the debate room, it drew applause and boos.) To get it, you needed to have seen the *SNL* skit and to be familiar with the charge that the press is in love with Obama—in which case, you were probably involved enough to know who you were voting for already. To a Texas or Ohio voter tuning in for the first time, it may have been sympathetic (The media

sucks! Woo-hoo!), or it may have been confusing (Uh, getting the first question at a debate is a bad thing?).

Pop-culturally, though, *SNL* returned just when Clinton needed it. For months, she's been outgunned in the increasingly important field of political entertainment surrogate videos, while Obama has owned YouTube. There was the parody (unauthorized by his campaign) of the Apple 1984 ad, which made her out to be a Big Sister-like totalitarian. Viral-video chanteuse Obama Girl



Life imitates comedy The real candidate, right, and Poehler

expressed her love for him in song and across the back of her hot pants. And will. I am of the Black Eyed Peas, with a host of singer and actor buddies, set an Obama speech to music in the *Yes, We Can* music video. Meanwhile, Clinton, after kicking off last summer with a sharp *Sopranos* parody video, has made do with a lame *Behind the Music* spoof—released by her own campaign, the equivalent of taking your brother to the prom.

Now, with Clinton against the wall in a bar fight, *SNL* handed her not one but two broken whiskey bottles: the debate skit and a brilliant girl-power endorsement from Tina Fey, who obliterated the worst arguments against Hillary—Bill fatigue, her age and the charge that she's a bitch. "Bitches get stuff done," Fey sassed. "Bitch is the new black!"

Yeah, I know, this is a sideshow—it

has nothing to do with the issues; it's pop-culture noise that doesn't matter. Except it does. Entertainment surrogates can make points you wouldn't put in your candidate's own mouth. (Clinton probably could not compare herself to a mean old nun who forces you to learn the capital of Vermont. Coming from Fey, it somehow works.) They attract free media. They can capture emotion more viscerally than a policy paper. (By playing off the rhythm and call-and-response of Obama's words, *Yes We Can* literally rendered his prose into lyrics.) And as much as people may say that they don't care about celebrity endorsements, videos convey the intangible sense that people are moved enough by a candidate to create.

Whatever it is they offer—buzz, cool, a psychological boost—Clinton needed it. So it was unsurprising, if a little weird, to see her staffers injecting *SNL* into their talking points the following Monday. See, Mom? TV criticism is a real job!

Beyond the reflected hipness, the debate skit served a Clinton campaign theme: that Big Media has grilled her ceaselessly while going wobbly over hot, charismatic young Obama. (An often true argument, if undercut by the fact that the point

was made for her by giant Big Media institution *SNL*.) And Cleveland was the perfect place to press the attack, since MSNBC has been the campaign's chief target, from Chris Matthews' criticisms of Clinton on *Hardball* to host David Shuster's remark that she "pimped out" daughter Chelsea on the campaign trail.

It's unclear if Clinton can pull out a win by convincing voters that journalism's old boys have ganged up on her, but at least the skit crystallized the argument. And if she succeeds, it will be partly by doing something the Bush Administration has perfected: running against the mainstream media. Clinton has spent months arguing that she's the best candidate to beat the GOP. With her *SNL* strategy, maybe she can instead make the case that she's the best candidate to beat the press. ■

Clinton probably could not compare herself to a mean old nun who forces you to learn the capital of Vermont. Coming from Fey, it somehow works

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WILL BE ATTACKED
3,000,000 TIMES TODAY.

WHO IS GOING
TO PROTECT IT?





Joe

Klein

As Ohio Goes. Middle-class voters are looking for big ideas. The candidate who provides them will win the White House

CARL HUGHES IS A BANKER IN MARION, Ohio, the sort of guy who takes the pillar of the community part of the program seriously. Last spring, he attended a meeting for people in town with health-insurance problems, called by Ohio's Democratic governor, Ted Strickland. "It was very emotional," Hughes remembered, "very upsetting." And so Hughes decided to pay for the insurance of the three families who seemed most desperate. "You want to see this problem fixed on the national level, but sometimes immediate action is needed," Hughes told me during a Sunday-morning visit to a pancake house in Marion with Governor Strickland 10 days before the Ohio primary. Strickland is supporting Hillary Clinton, but Hughes is undecided—which, in Ohio, means that he'd like to vote for Barack Obama but needs to be convinced that Obama has the desire to understand, and act on, the layered complexity of the region's despair.

In Ohio, even good news has dark shadows. The local Whirlpool plant employs about 4,000 people and produces 23,000 clothes dryers per day, but it's nonunion. "It takes a while before you're making \$30,000 a year there," Hughes told me. "Hard for us to give mortgages to people making so little." But it's not hard for predatory lenders. The mayor of Marion, Scott Schertzer, told me that "we've gone from 57 foreclosures 10 years ago to more than 500 last year."

And Marion is in relatively good shape—compared with Mansfield, a

town the governor and I visited earlier that morning. Strickland is a former minister, and we began our day at the United Methodist Church, a lovely place with a guitar-playing preacher. Back in the 1960s, Mansfield had been home to famous American brand names like Westinghouse and Tappan. Now the town was shriveling slowly, the young people moving away. "I'm the only one I know



who went to a four-year college and came back home to live," Ben Stauffer, a young high school teacher, told me later.

We have heard these stories before; we've heard them for decades, in fact. But there is a sense this year that the slow-motion depreciation of the American middle class has reached critical mass, and not just in Ohio and Michigan. It is an issue that reaches across party lines, which is why John McCain talks about the need to help displaced workers. "This income gap is the biggest issue for me," Bob Currens, a Republican painting contractor who was thinking about voting Democratic—for Obama—for the first time, told me after the church service. His wife Kim joined us and said Bob had been a salaried worker at AK Steel, "and the union was a big problem there. They worked at not work-

ing." Eventually there was a lockout—and AK Steel reorganized itself as a nonunion shop. "They're making big profits now," Bob said. "You wonder why there can't be some middle ground" between the old-fashioned, inflexible unions and "the CEOs selling out these companies, shipping jobs overseas."

In a way, Bob and Kim Currens are the story of this election—not just the primary but also the general. "I have real problems with Hillary on abortion and the right to bear arms," Bob said. But he's likely to learn that Obama's positions on those issues aren't much different from Clinton's. And what will he do then? In

the recent past, people like the Currens voted Republican—because of abortion or guns or bloody-shirt patriotism. This year they want a different conversation, about big things—the economy, America's place in the world, their children's future. This is not McCain's favorite conversation; he'd much rather focus on his—deeply simplistic, as he presents it—view of the war in Iraq, the false nonchoices of "victory" or "surrender."

It's also not the election the mainstream media may want. We've "done" the Rust Belt stories. As I toured reality in Ohio, the big story in the press was whether the Clinton campaign was responsible for slipping a photo of Obama in Somali Muslim garb to the *Drudge Report*. No doubt we're going to have a sludge tide of garbage about Obama's provenance and proclivities in the months to come. If the election is dominated by that, we should all be sued for malpractice.

Still, if the Democrats want this election to be about national renewal, about big ideas like energy independence and a rollback of militarism abroad, they are going to have to be truthful and precise. They haven't been on NAFTA, the relatively peripheral trade deal that both Clinton and Obama—formerly equivocal supporters—have made the symbol for the loss of manufacturing jobs. But shutting off free trade won't heal Ohio. Aggressive government action might. That is real change on the horizon, the real choice this year.

There is a sense this year that the slow-motion depreciation of the American middle class has reached critical mass, and not just in Ohio and Michigan

CAMPAIGN '08

Does Experience Matter in a President?

Photograph for TIME by Christopher Morris—VII



Hillary Clinton and John McCain are arguing that Barack Obama is too green for the job. But history shows that when it comes to the presidency, experience doesn't guarantee success

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

A STORY IS OFTEN TOLD AT TIMES LIKE THIS—times when American voters are choosing among candidates richly seasoned with political experience and those who are less experienced but perhaps more exciting alternatives. Once upon a time, the torch was passed to a new generation of Americans, and a charismatic young President, gifted as a speechmaker but little tested as an executive, was finding his way through his first 100 days. On Day 85, he stumbled, and the result for John F. Kennedy was the disastrous Bay of Pigs.

For scholars of the presidency, Kennedy's failure to scuttle or fix the ill-conceived invasion of Cuba is a classic case of the insufficiency of charisma alone. No quips, grins or flights of rhetoric would do. Kennedy needed on the job training, as he later admitted to a friend: "Presumably, I was going to learn these lessons sometime, and maybe better sooner than later." Unfortunately, when a President gets an education, we all pay the tuition.

Barack Obama basks in comparisons to J.F.K., but this is one he'd rather avoid. In the run-up to what could be the decisive contests for the Democratic nomination, Obama's relatively light political résumé—eight years as an Illinois legislator and three years in the U.S. Senate—continues to be the focus of his rivals' attacks. Hillary Clinton advertises her seven years in the Senate and two terms as First Lady, saying "I am ready to lead



Character and charisma

J.F.K.'s inspirational candor and silver tongue won him the presidency and the hearts of many in the U.S., but his inexperience is blamed in part for the Bay of Pigs disaster

on Day One." And the message has gotten through: by clear margins, voters rate her as the more experienced of the two candidates. The fact that this hasn't stopped Obama's momentum doesn't mean he's heard the last of it—not with John McCain, who has spent 26 years on Capitol Hill, the likely Republican nominee. "I'm not the youngest candidate. But I am the most experienced," says McCain. "I know how the world works."

Obama's credentials would be an issue in any election year. He would be sworn in at age 47, making him one of the youngest Presidents in history, and would arrive in the Oval Office with less executive experience than most of his predecessors. Depending on what your leanings are, you could compare his work history—lawyer, state legislator, Washington short-timer, orator—to Abraham Lincoln's, or to a thousand forgotten figures in politicalgraveyard.com. The question of experience takes on added bite this year, though, because the next President will inherit a troubled and menacing satchel of problems. From the Iraq tightrope to the stumbling economy, from the China challenge to the health care mess, from loose nukes to oil dependence to (some things never change) Cuba policy—the next President will be tossed a couple dozen flaming torches at the end of the inaugural parade, and it would be helpful to know that this person has juggled before.

But if one moral of the Bay of Pigs is "Beware of charisma" or "Timeworn trumps callow," what do we

Presidential Résumés. How 42 men got the job—ready or not

Throughout U.S. history, there has been little correlation between political experience and success as President. This chart shows the political résumés of every American President. Each square represents a year in an elective or high federal office before the person became President:

- Vice President
- U.S. diplomat or Cabinet post
- U.S. Senate
- U.S. House of Representatives*
- Governor
- State legislature**
- Local office
- Army general

*Includes the Continental Congresses

**Includes colonial-era state assemblies and statewide elected officers below governor

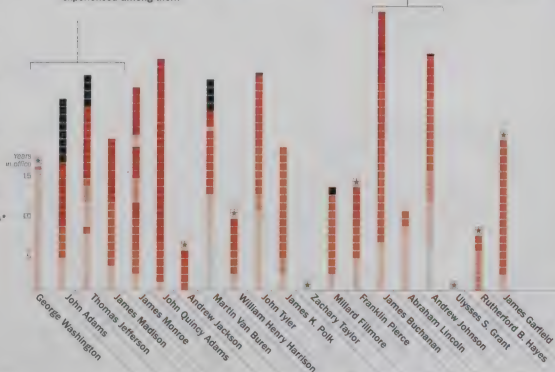
A NEW EXPERIENCE

The founders set a high bar for experience when filling the diverse jobs needed to create a new nation. George Washington was a national hero but the least politically experienced among them



THE EXPERIENCE PARADOX

Abraham Lincoln, among the least experienced Presidents ever, served between two of the most veteran politicians in U.S. history. Lincoln achieved greatness; the old pros failed miserably



make of the mistakes and miscalculations of deeply experienced leaders? Franklin D. Roosevelt's failed court packing scheme, for example, or Woodrow Wilson's postwar foreign policy? For that matter, Kennedy would not have faced such a harsh early tutorial if the venerable warrior and statesman Dwight D. Eisenhower had not allowed the Cuba invasion plan to be put in motion during the last of his eight years as President.

Wouldn't it be nice if time on the job and tickets punched translated neatly into superior performance? Then finding great Presidents would be a simple matter of weighing résumés. Take a Democrat like Bill Richardson—experienced in Congress, in the Cabinet, as a diplomat and governor—and have him run against Republican Tom Ridge, a former soldier, governor and Director of Homeland Security, with the winner chosen by a blue-ribbon commission of all-purpose elders. The Danforth Mitchell commission, perhaps, or O'Connor Albright. But it has never worked that way, which is why Lincoln's statue occupies a marble temple on the Mall in Washington, while his far more experienced rival William Seward has a little seat on a pedestal in New York City. "Experience never exists in isolation; it is always a factor that coexists with temperament, training, background, spiritual outlook and a host of other factors," says presidential historian Richard Norton Smith. "Character is your magic word, it seems to me—not just what they've done but how they've



Learning to lead

Obama's detractors highlight his relative inexperience in Washington, but some successful Presidents had even less capital training—among them Abraham Lincoln

done it and what they've learned from doing it."

There's something egglike about the concept of experience as a qualification for the highest office. At first blush, the idea appears to be something you can get your hands around. Presidential experience means a familiarity with the levers and dials of government, knowing how to cajole the Congress, understanding when to rely on the Joint Chiefs of Staff and when to call on the National Security Council—that sort of thing. But bear down even slightly, and the notion of experience is liable to crack and run all over. If knowing the system is so useful, then second term presidencies should be more successful than first-term. Instead, many Presidents lose effectiveness as they go along. Lyndon Johnson, for example: his experience as a master legislator no doubt helped as he steered his historic civil rights and welfare agenda to passage. By the end of two years as President, however, "he was out of gas," recalls Johnson aide Harry McPherson. The longer Johnson was in the Oval Office, the more feckless his presidency became.

Was it Franklin Roosevelt's experience as governor of New York that gave him the power to inspire in some of the nation's darkest hours? Or was that gift a distillate of his dauntless battle with polio? To a keen student of human nature, all life offers lessons in how to lead, inspire and endure. Lincoln's ability to apply useful lessons from his motley experiences was among his most striking traits. When Ulysses Grant explained

NO EXPERIENCE

Chester A. Arthur, a patronage hire and party loyalist, found himself picked for Vice President at a splintered Republican Convention. Then James Garfield was assassinated. As President, Arthur was a surprisingly successful civil-service reformer



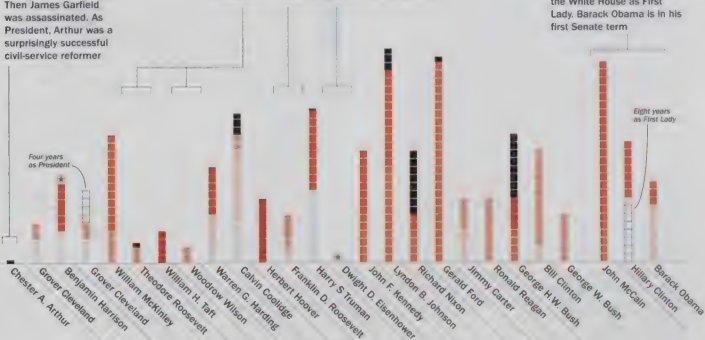
OTHER EXPERIENCE

A lack of political experience can be misleading. **Dwight D. Eisenhower** had never won an elected office but was the ultimate Commander in Chief. **Woodrow Wilson** was president of Princeton University and a renowned intellectual. Both **Theodore Roosevelt** and **Franklin Roosevelt** each served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy



THE CANDIDATES' EXPERIENCE

All three are bucking a recent trend of former governors becoming President. **John McCain** would be the longest-serving Senator to become President. **Hillary Clinton** points to her time in the White House as First Lady. **Barack Obama** is in his first Senate term



his grand strategy to defeat Lee by attacking on multiple fronts, Lincoln immediately thought of a lesson in joint operations learned years earlier on the farm. "Those not skinning can hold a leg," he said approvingly. For other temperaments, no amount of schooling, no matter how specific, will do. Richard Nixon served as a Congressman, Senator and Vice President; he watched from the front row as Eisenhower assembled one of the best-organized administrations in history. When Nixon's turn came, though, his core character—insecure, insincere, conspiratorial—led him to create a White House doomed by its own dysfunction.

Experience, in other words, gets its value from the person who has it. In certain lives, a little goes a long way. Some people grow and ripen through years of government service; others spoil on the vine. At the same time, the value that voters place on résumé is constantly shifting. James A. Baker III is an authority on this. In 1980, he managed the campaign of his well-credentialed friend George H.W. Bush, under the slogan "A President we won't have to train." But the public mood was sour on Washington, and victory went to an outsider, Ronald Reagan, who had never served in Washington. Eight years later, the mood was staid the course, and Bush's experience as Vice President was his ticket to victory. Then the atmosphere turned again, and in 1992 the public demanded someone new. Baker, a former Secretary of State, still believes that a candidate with credentials should certainly tout them, but in the end, "there's no such thing as presidential experience outside of the office itself." The quality we ought to seek "is leadership."

Countless words have been devoted to the presidency, and still its dimensions remain indescribable. Two words that recur poignantly are *power* and *loneliness*. Former White House chief of staff Leon Panetta recalls a moment in 1994 that for him expresses the intersection of these burdens and the essence of the office. Bill Clinton had called for a military dictator in Haiti to step down, and the crisis had ratcheted up to the point where "the ships were moving, the Navy SEALs were on alert." Some of the most experienced statesmen in Washington "were all standing around the desk saying to Clinton, 'You've got to make a decision.'" (After Clinton ordered the 82nd Airborne Division to start flying toward Haiti, the dictator backed down.) A President can take counsel from the most eminent advisers in the world, but in the end, only the President can make the fateful decisions. Some decisions are too hard or too weighty to be made at a lower level. "It's about that moment," Panetta says—that decisive moment.

When Americans pass over the best credentialed candidates because their heart or their gut leads them elsewhere, they are only reflecting a visceral understanding that the presidency involves tests unlike all others. They are, perhaps, seeking the ineffable quality the writer Katherine Anne Porter had in mind when she defined experience as "the truth that finally overtakes you." An ideal President is both ruthless and compassionate, visionary and pragmatic, cunning and honest, patient and bold, combining the eloquence of a psalmist with the timing of a jungle cat. Not exactly the sort of data you can find on a résumé. —WITH

REPORTING BY TIFFANY SHARPLES/NEW YORK

The Science of Experience

Would you prefer a doctor who has practiced medicine for 30 years or just 10? Research into expert performance shows that the choice isn't simple

BY JOHN CLOUD/TALLAHASSEE

THE OTHER DAY, A NURSE AT Florida State University in Tallahassee responded to an alarm in a hospital room where a patient named Stan D. Ardman lay gravely ill. Ardman's blood pressure had dropped precipitously, and when the nurse came in, Ardman wheezed and said, "I'm very nauseous and dizzy... Having trouble breathing."

"O.K.," the nurse responded. "I'm Thomas. I'll be taking care of you." (Thomas is a pseudonym for a nurse in his mid-20s.) Then, in a tone of uncertainty, Thomas said under his breath, "Nauseous and dizzy?"

Ardman moaned, and his heart monitor squalled urgently.

Thomas looked at Ardman's chart, rifled through a book describing prescription drugs, searched a couple of drawers and accidentally dropped something on the floor. Ardman was already receiving a drip of dopamine, a compound that treats low blood pressure. Merely increasing the dosage of dopamine would almost cer-

Two nurses, one experiment In a simulation on a robot patient at Florida State's Human Performance Laboratory, two nurses, a novice and a veteran, were asked to cope with a typical emergency-room crisis: falling blood pressure. Both nurses failed



tainly raise Ardman's blood pressure, relieve his nausea and dizziness, and bring him out of crisis.

But Thomas missed that simple solution. Instead, he asked Ardman if he had chest pain. "I'm just nauseous and dizzy," the patient replied. Just then, the monitor made an ominous noise indicating that Ardman's pressure was plummeting further. Thomas vacillated.

"Think out loud," another nurse pleaded to Thomas.

"Uh," Thomas mumbled. "Not sure."

And then he made a fatal mistake. He decided to give Ardman epinephrine, a drug that would certainly raise the patient's blood pressure but that, in combination with the dopamine Ardman had already received, would also spike his heart rate and possibly kill him. Sure enough, after epinephrine was administered, the patient lost consciousness and drifted toward death—although just before he died, the simulation ended.

Stan D. Ardman isn't a real person but a robot simulator ("standard man") used

to train medical personnel. Thomas, who is just out of nursing school, was participating in a Florida State study designed to compare the performance of novice nurses like him against that of more experienced ones. The results were surprising. After Thomas left, I watched a nurse with more than 25 years' experience go through the same simulation. At first, when the monitor indicated a drop in blood pressure, Monica (also a pseudonym) coolheadedly began to identify possible treatments. Within seconds she noticed Ardman's

dopamine drip, and she knew it was the answer. "She's so fast," said James Whyte IV, an assistant professor at Florida State's School of Nursing who was controlling the robot from a hidden room where we sat watching.

Still, Monica didn't know the robot's weight, which she would need to measure the dopamine increase. She moved to pick up Ardman's chart, which listed his weight, but just then the simulator's blood pressure dropped radically, prompting Monica to make the same error that Thomas had made: she went for epinephrine. After the drug sent Ardman into ventricular tachycardia, Monica was fast enough to shock him with the defibrillator. But this time poor Mr. Ardman died before the experiment ended. The expert had killed Ardman even faster than the novice had.

In making the case that she would be a better President than Barack Obama, Hillary Rodham Clinton never forgets to summon the argument that she has more experience. But as the Florida State simu-

'The number of years of experience in a domain is a poor predictor of attained performance.'

—ANDERS ERICSSON, CO-EDITOR,
THE CAMBRIDGE HANDBOOK OF
EXPERTISE AND EXPERT PERFORMANCE

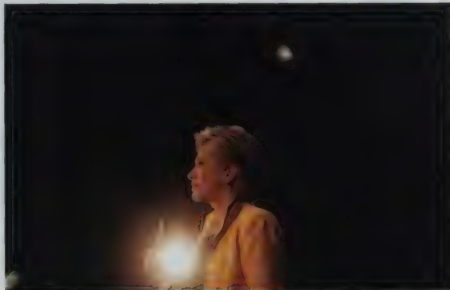
lations show, experience doesn't always help. In fact, three decades of research into expert performance has shown that experience itself—the raw amount of time you spend pursuing any particular activity, from brain surgery to skiing—can actually hinder your ability to deliver reproducibly superior performance.

How can that be? It is widely accepted that mastering most complex human endeavors requires a minimum of 10 years' experience. The 10-year rule was posited as long ago as 1899, when *Psychological Review* ran a paper saying it takes at least that long to become expert in telegraphy. The modern study of expert performance began in 1973, when *American Scientist* published an influential article by researchers Herbert Simon and William Chase saying chess enthusiasts had to play for at least 10 years before they could win international tournaments. (Bobby Fischer was an exception; he played for nine years before becoming a grand master at 16.)

The 10-year rule explains, in an obvious and intuitive way, why the novice nurse Thomas failed his simulation: he had completed only two years of training, and he got rattled. "It's funny the things that anxiety can do to people," Whyte, the nursing professor, said, as Thomas ignored the drip. Monica, by contrast, instinctively looked up to see what medications were on the line. But then she made the same error as her inexperienced counterpart. Why?

While 10 years is a necessary minimum to achieve expertise in most fields, it doesn't guarantee success. As Anders Ericsson writes in the introduction to the 901-page *Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (2006), "The number of years of experience in a domain is a poor predictor of attained performance." Ericsson, 60, is a professor at Florida State who moved to the U.S. from his native Sweden in 1976 to study with Simon, co-author of the seminal chess paper. (Simon went on to win a Nobel Prize in economics for his work on decision-making.) Today Ericsson runs Florida State's Human Performance Laboratory, where Thomas and Monica participated in the robot simulations.

Ericsson, a large, gentle man with unkempt salt-and-pepper hair and a button on his jacket missing, has become the world's leading expert on experts, a term he distinguishes from "expert performers"—those individuals, possessing both experience and superior skill, who tend to win Nobel Prizes or international chess competitions or Olympic medals. Ericsson notes that some entire classes of experts—for instance, those



Senator John McCain

AGE 71

ELECTED OFFICE U.S. House of Representatives, 1983-87; U.S. Senate, 1987-present

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND Pilot, U.S. Navy, 1958-81 (prisoner of war, 1967-73; awarded the Silver Star, Legion of Merit, Purple Heart and Distinguished Flying Cross); Senate-Navy liaison, 1977-81

SENATE COMMITTEES Armed Services, ranking member, Commerce, Science and Transportation, former chairman; Indian Affairs, former chairman

KEY LEGISLATION McCain-Feingold Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, 2002; Detainee Treatment Act, 2005

Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton

AGE 60

ELECTED OFFICE U.S. Senate, 2001-present

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND Staff attorney, Children's Defense Fund, 1973; law professor, University of Arkansas, 1975-76; attorney and partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, Ark., 1976-92; first lady of Arkansas, 1979-81 and 1983-92; board member, Wal-Mart, 1986-92; First Lady of the U.S., 1993-2000

SENATE COMMITTEES Armed Services; Environment and Public Works; Health, Education, Labor and Pensions; Special Committee on Aging

KEY LEGISLATION Best Pharmaceuticals for Children Act, 2002; Armed Forces Personnel Medical Readiness and Tracking Act, 2004

Senator Barack Obama

AGE 46

ELECTED OFFICE Illinois state senate, 1997-2004; U.S. Senate, 2005-present

PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND Community organizer, Chicago, 1985-88; civil rights attorney, Miner, Barnhill & Galland, Chicago, 1993-97; lecturer in constitutional law, University of Chicago, 1993-2004

SENATE COMMITTEES Foreign Relations; Veterans' Affairs; Health, Education, Labor and Pensions; Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

KEY LEGISLATION Lugar-Obama Proliferation and Threat Reduction Initiative, 2007; Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act, 2006

who pick stocks for a living—are barely better than novices. (Experienced investors do perform a little ahead of chance, his studies show, but not enough to outweigh transaction costs.)

Experts tend to be good at their particular talent, but when something unpredictable happens—something that changes the rules of the game they usually play—they're little better than the rest of us. Chess grand masters can recall almost entire chessboard layouts from their games (approximately 25 pieces, compared with an average of four for novices), but when chessmen are randomly arranged on a board, those grand masters can recall the placement of only about six pieces. Similarly, experienced actors remember script lines much better than novices do, but they are no better at remembering material other than scripts.

Ericsson's primary finding is that rather than mere experience or even raw talent, it is dedicated, sloggish, generally solitary exertion—repeatedly practicing the most difficult physical tasks for an athlete, repeatedly performing new and highly intricate computations for a mathematician—that leads to first-rate performance. And it should never get easier; if it does, you are coasting, not improving. Ericsson calls this exertion "deliberate practice," by which he means the kind of practice we hate, the kind that leads to failure and hair pulling and fist-pounding. You like the Tuesday New York Times crossword? You have to tackle the Saturday one to be really good.

Take figure-skating. For the 2003 book *Expert Performance in Sports*, researchers Janice Deakin and Stephen Cobley observed 24 figure skaters as they practiced. Deakin and Cobley asked the skaters to complete diaries about their practice habits. The researchers found that elite skaters spent 68% of their sessions practicing jumps—one of the riskiest and most demanding parts of figure-skating routines. Skaters in a second tier, who were just as experienced in terms of years, spent only 48% of their time on jumps, and they rested more often. As Deakin and her colleagues write in the *Cambridge Handbook*, "All skaters spent considerably more time practicing jumps that already existed in their repertoire and less time on jumps they were attempting to learn." In other words, we like to practice what we know, stretching out in the warm bath of familiarity rather than stretching our skills. Those who overcome that tendency are the real high performers.

Experience is not only insufficient for expert performance; in some cases, it can hurt. Highly experienced people

tend to execute routine tasks almost unconsciously—think of Monica immediately glancing up to see Ardmann's dopamine drip—and they retrieve the information they need quickly, rarely pausing to apply rules. Driving is a good example. In a 1991 paper in the journal *Ergonomics*, a team of researchers found that while new drivers and truly expert drivers (members of Britain's Institute of Advanced Motorists) checked their mirrors often and applied their brakes early, regular drivers with 20 years' experience rarely checked their mirrors and braked much later. Experience in a particular task frees space in your mind for other cognitive pursuits—wondering what's for dinner, answering your cell, singing along with Justin Timberlake—but those things can distract you from the accident you're about to have. Experience can also lead to overconfidence: a study in the journal *Accident Analysis & Prevention* found that licensed race-car drivers had more on-the-road accidents than controls did.

Which is not to say that, if elected, Clinton or John McCain would drive the country off a cliff—or that Obama, as a comparative novice, would be more cautious and less burdened by his habits. But the study of experience does indicate that the more seasoned candidates wouldn't automatically outperform Obama as President. On the other hand, Ericsson's conclusion that deliberate practice leads to better performance might favor the punctilious, famously diligent Clinton.

The *Cambridge Handbook* concludes that great performance comes mostly from deliberate practice but also from another activity: regularly obtaining accurate feedback. In a 1997 study published in the journal *Medical Decision Making*, researchers found that only 4% of interns had known a group of elderly patients for more than a week; by comparison, nearly half the highly experienced attending physicians had known the patients for more than six months. But even with the advantages of years of medical experience and months of knowing the patients, the attending physicians were no more accurate than the interns at predicting the patients' end-of-life preferences, a crucial factor in determining whether a patient has a good death. It was attention to the patients' feelings and values that mattered, not having more knowledge of their diseases. And in the end, determining which of the presidential candidates pays more attention to your concerns requires not adding up their years of experience but a far more complex calculation: deciding what their experiences have led them to truly value. ■

The Bitter Half

Bill Clinton was supposed to be a major weapon in his wife's run for the White House. But with Hillary's campaign now fighting for survival, is Bill to blame? He, for one, doesn't think so

BY KAREN TUMULTY

WITH JUST OVER A WEEK to go before the Ohio primary, Bill Clinton's arrival in Chillicothe was greeted as a homecoming of sorts. More than a few in the audience at the college gym could remember the first time he came to the city. It was 15 years before, almost to the day, and the new President was in town to sell his economic plan. The 46-year-old baby boomer had seemed the very embodiment of the freshness and change that the people of this downtrodden burg on the edge of Appalachia had been praying for. They were giddy when he jogged through Yoctangee Park with the mayor in 3°F (16°C) weather and dropped by their new McDonald's for a decaf. But it was the hope in his words that thrilled them most of all. "None of us have all the answers," Clinton declared back then. "This is a new and uncharted time. And I want to encourage you to continue to believe in your country."

But today's Bill Clinton after a quadruple bypass has given up jogging in favor of long walks, and his hair is a halo of white.

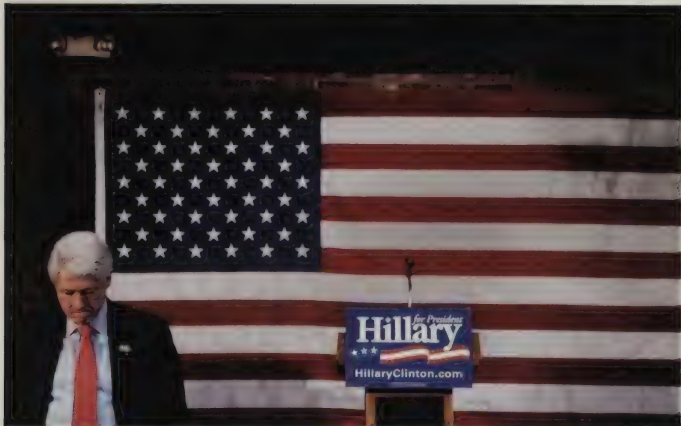
And he had come to deliver a very different message. Don't fall in love, he cautioned, simply because someone tells you that "we need to turn the page in America, and we need to adopt something fresh and new—whatever that is."

It is hard to miss the irony: the man from Hope is now trying to figure out how to tamp it down. But that tells you pretty much everything you need to know about the spot in which Bill Clinton finds himself today, as his wife's presidential campaign fights for its life in Ohio and Texas.

'He just did her such damage. They'll never see it that way, because they can't. And he has no self-knowledge.'

—A HILLARY FRIEND AND SUPPORTER





What is harder to figure out is how much of the blame for her predicament belongs to him. "I think he just did her such damage," says a friend and supporter, expressing a sentiment that many feel privately. "They'll never see it that way, because they can't. And he has no self-knowledge. This has magnified all his worst traits."

Everyone around Hillary Clinton always recognized that Bill would be a mixed blessing for her campaign. Back in the pre-Obamamania days, her supporters assumed that no one could draw crowds, bring in money or ignite the base like the only Democratic President since F.D.R. to win re-election. Bill was considered the sharpest political strategist of his generation. And as public approval for President George W. Bush sank lower and lower, the Clinton years, for all their drama, were looking better and better. Yet there was always the worry about whether Bill would be able to stay within the constrained, derivative role of the candidate's spouse. The biggest fear was that he would shine too bright, burn too hot, consign the candidate to his shadow.

In a campaign that has turned out to be all about change, however, Bill's presence has become a reminder of the past and of the style of politics that Barack Obama has promised to bring to an end. Even worse, say many Democrats, Bill has put his wife's

Campaigner Bill Clinton after a speech for the South Carolina primary. Many say he contributed to his wife's loss there

Bill's Influence

75

Number of cities that Bill Clinton has visited in February to campaign for his wife—as many as five in one day

TIME POLL

Do you think Bill Clinton's campaigning has helped Hillary Clinton's chances?

35%

Yes, it has helped

34%

No, it has hurt

26%

Not much effect

Has Bill Clinton's campaigning made you more likely to vote for Hillary Clinton?

9%

More likely

19%

Less likely

70%

No influence

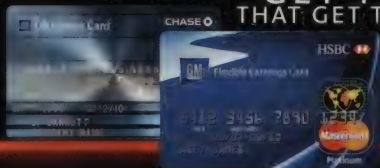
This TIME poll was conducted Feb. 1-4 among 958 randomly selected registered voters in the SRII Public Affairs. The margin of error is ±3 percentage points.

political career in jeopardy by displaying the same character traits that almost ran his own presidency off the rails—a lack of self control and an excess of self absorption. It hasn't always been clear whether Bill Clinton sees Obama as a threat to his wife's prospects, or to his own legacy.

On the campaign trail, Bill's way of grabbing the spotlight has reminded voters of what they didn't like about the last Clinton presidency and what might be wrong with the next one. Lobbyist and former Texas Lieut. Governor Ben Barnes, long a prolific donor to the Clintons and other Democrats, says the former President is—as everyone knew he would be—his wife's most powerful weapon. The problem is, says Barnes, who now supports Obama, "that gun kicks as bad as it shoots."

In Iowa, Bill Clinton shaded his own nuanced record on the war, saying he "opposed Iraq from the beginning"; in New Hampshire, the criticism he got for that didn't stop him from blasting Obama's claim of steadfast opposition to the war as a "fairy tale." He twisted Obama's observation that Ronald Reagan had changed the country to make it appear that the Illinois Senator had praised Reagan's ideas. And Bill cheerfully diminished Obama's sweeping and historic primary victory in heavily African-American South Carolina by pointing out that Jesse Jackson had also

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Pontiac G8, Top 20 New Cars for 2008

Road & Track Magazine, October 2007





In the beginning On her first campaign swing through Iowa, in January 2007, a confident Hillary Clinton meets with her staff before a news conference in Davenport

won the state. Liberal columnist Jonathan Chait wondered, "Were the conservatives right about Bill Clinton all along?"

Nowhere did it get worse than in South Carolina. A Clinton campaign official says Bill "hijacked the candidacy in South Carolina. It was appalling to watch it." In the week before the primary, his attacks on Obama put the former President in the news more times than any of the Republican candidates, according to a study by the Project for Excellence in Journalism; during a debate in Myrtle Beach, Obama complained, "I can't tell who I'm running against sometimes."

And yet the person who seemed least aware of the havoc he was causing was Bill Clinton. "He was firmly convinced in his mind that every last thing he did was right," says former Democratic National Committee chairman Don Fowler, a South Carolinian who spent much of that week at Bill Clinton's side. "He wouldn't admit any misjudgments or miscalculations."

'He was firmly convinced ... that every last thing he did was right. He wouldn't admit any misjudgments.'

—DON FOWLER, FORMER CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

But the damage had been done, particularly among African-American voters. Ten days before the crucial Ohio and Texas primaries, Hillary was still on the defensive, saying at a conference on African-American issues in New Orleans, "If anyone was offended by anything that was said—whether it was meant or not, misinterpreted or not—obviously I regret that."

It ranks Bill Clinton to see his strong support among African Americans slipping away, but "there's a part of him that understands it, because he understands black people as well as anybody I know," says an old friend who is African American and continues to support him. "He understands it—doesn't like it—but he has to understand."

Those close to the former President say that much of what is driving him is frustration and dismay. "In the past, when he was on the ropes, he could get himself off the ropes," says an adviser. But Clinton has begun to accept the fact that there are limits to what he can do when he is not the candidate. He correctly blames the media for uneven treatment—saying reporters have taken a tougher stance with him and his wife than with Obama. (After *Saturday Night Live* lampooned the media for their love affair with Obama, Bill telephoned guest host Tina Fey to thank her.)

But he is appalled, friends and aides say, by what he has privately described as "political malpractice" by Hillary's campaign. It spent money with abandon in the earliest primaries and assumed that the race would

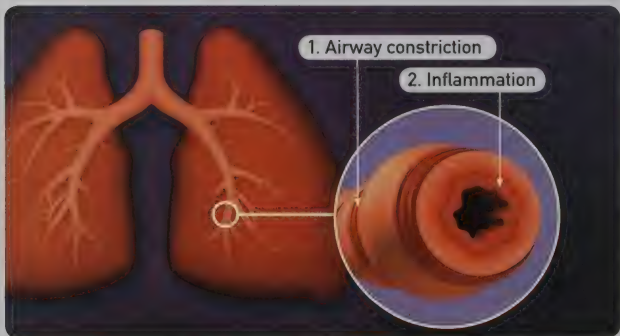
not last past Super Tuesday, on Feb. 5—and failed to prepare for any of the states that followed. Two weeks before the Texas primary, Bill Clinton telephoned Waco insurance mogul and philanthropist Bernard Rapoport, a friend and backer since the 1970s. Rapoport told Clinton that this was the first contact he had had from anyone on the campaign. "He was madder than mad," Rapoport says. "He was right. There was so much we could have done, but we never heard from anyone at headquarters."

That Bill Clinton would be surprised at any of this is surprising in itself, given the wide perception that he is the unseen hand guiding his wife's campaign. But friends and advisers say that was never the case—in part because he understood Hillary's need to establish her independence, and in part because of long-standing mistrust between his political operation and hers. He deferred to her team and its pseudo-incumbency strategy throughout the fall, friends say, even though his instincts told him that Obama was gaining steam and should be dealt with as a threat. When Bill visited Hillary's Des Moines campaign headquarters a few days before the Iowa caucuses to give a pep talk to her young volunteers, her then campaign manager Patti Solis Doyle didn't come out of her office. Those who were there saw it as an unmistakable snub and an assertion of who was in charge.

While his public profile has been lower lately, Bill Clinton has been getting far more involved in the campaign's inner workings. It was partly at his instigation that Maggie Williams—who had been chief of staff in his post-presidency office in Harlem, in addition to serving as his wife's chief of staff in the White House—has replaced Doyle. Some of his former White House aides, including senior adviser Doug Sosnick and deputy chief of staff Steve Ricchetti, have been brought closer into the campaign fold. And Bill has been more assertive in giving tactical advice—coaching Hillary's strategists on how to talk about trade in Ohio, for example, and scrutinizing the map for targets of opportunity that the campaign may have missed. It was Bill Clinton, aides say, who suggested deploying himself to campaign in Alabama, even though Hillary was certain to lose the popular vote. Sure enough, Obama won by a comfortable 14 points—but Hillary came out of the contest with 25 delegates to Obama's 27.

But maybe what's really wrong with Hillary's campaign is something that is simply beyond even Bill Clinton's ability to fix. "It may be," says a friend, "their day has passed." As Bill told the folks in Chillicothe back in 1993, it is simply "a new and uncharted time." ■

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Important Information about ADVAIR DISKUS. Prescription ADVAIR won't replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms and should not be taken more than twice a day. ADVAIR is for people who still have symptoms on another asthma controller, or who need two controllers. ADVAIR contains salmeterol. In patients with asthma, medicines like salmeterol may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So ADVAIR is not for people whose asthma is well controlled on another controller medicine.

Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. Do not use ADVAIR with long-acting beta₂-agonists for any reason. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve or gets worse. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

Please see important information about ADVAIR on the next page.

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ADVAIR DISKUS[®] 100/50
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ADVAIR DISKUS[®] 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(Fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

Advair with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist medicines such as salmeterol are one of the medications in ADVAIR. It may increase the chance of asthma from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol than asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta₂-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

For Asthma

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 500/50 is the only approved drug for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: itching, breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in a week's time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day), your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease, your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful, as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as arthritis, conjunctivitis, eczema, epilepsy, and isosplenetic conditions. Symptoms of an isosplenetic condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention. If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to use ADVAIR according to your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- If you have seizures, overactive thyroid gland, or are sensitive to certain medications for breathing.
- If you are getting problems get worse over time, if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you, or if you have ADVAIR, if your asthma problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical call.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickens or measles or if you have an immune-system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

When using ADVAIR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS[®] apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil pouch.
- Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR DISKUS, do not use other long-acting beta₂-agonist-containing medications, such as SEREVENT[®] DISKUS or Foradil[®] Aerolizer[®], for any reason.

If you take intravenous (IV) medication, tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir[®], Soft Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Solution, and Kaletra[®] contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketoconazole (an antifungal medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects. Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta₂-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLONASE[®] (fluticasone propionate).

What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

Pneumonia: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR. There was a higher incidence of pneumonia reported in patients with COPD taking ADVAIR DISKUS than among those taking salmeterol in a clinical study.

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk of osteoporosis. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

Glaucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate. A medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a heart attack like heart failure, heart rhythm, Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

Growth: Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

Steroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during times of illness or severe stress to your body, such as an infection. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids, but it is more common with oral steroids, especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by their doctor.

Tuberculosis or other untreated infections: ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR include:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections | • Bronchitis | • Musculoskeletal pain |
| • Throat irritation | • Cough | • Dizziness |
| • Headaches | • Headaches | • Fever |
| • Sinus infection | • Nausea and vomiting | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth | • Diarrhea | • Nosebleeds |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended dose.

What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS

This page is a quick summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADVAIR.com or call 1-888-255-2343. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medicine guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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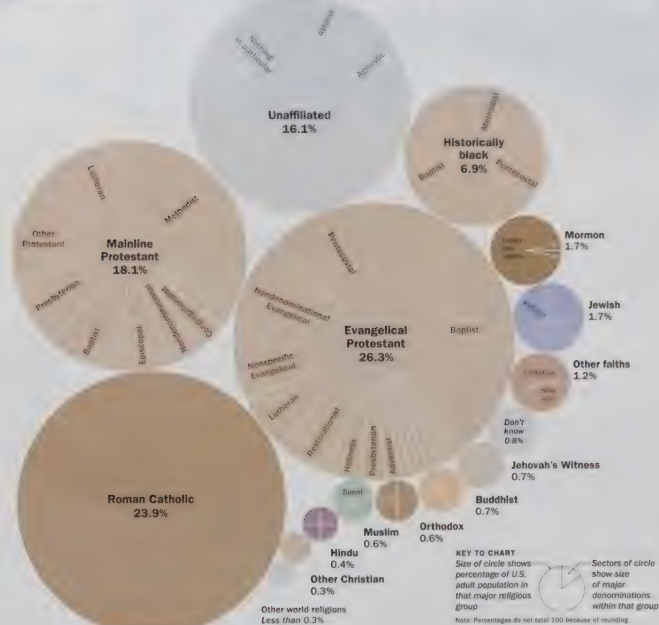


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Research Triangle Park, NC 27709
 ADVAIR 111 June 2007

The Marketplace of Faith. A new study finds Americans constantly moving among religions—or away from them

BY JACKSON DYKMAN



AMERICANS LOVE TO SHOP, EVEN FOR religion. More than 40% of U.S. adults have changed their faith since childhood, many opting for no faith at all. That's the key finding of a major study by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, which surveyed 35,000 people in five languages to create the most detailed portrait yet of the country's religious landscape.


The study found that the fastest growing religious group is people with out any religious affiliation. But that doesn't mean the U.S. is experiencing a secular surge. Most in this group aren't atheists; they just describe their religion as "nothing in particular."

Catholicism has experienced the biggest exodus of members, though that has

been offset by a huge influx of Catholic immigrants, mostly Latinos. Immigrants are fueling growth in other faiths too. Two-thirds of U.S. Muslims are foreign-born.

Protestants remain a bare and strikingly diverse majority; the study found widespread movement among 100 variations of Protestantism. For America's faithful, it's a buyer's market.

Mission Unfinished



Battle fatigue U.S. soldiers at Combat Outpost Rabiya in western Mosul take a break while waiting for the “decisive battle” promised by Iraqi Prime Minister al Maliki

18

U.S. troops
killed in Mosul
in 2007

8

U.S. troops
killed in Mosul
since Jan. 1

80

Average number of
insurgent attacks
per week in Mosul



THE WAR UP NORTH

For more photos of the U.S. military's operation in Mosul, go to time.com/mosul



For American troops on their second or third tours in Iraq, some familiar places now look much different. But in Mosul, the old battles have to be fought all over again. A report from the next front line

BY MARK KUKIS/MOSUL

THERE ARE TWO IMPORTANT rules at Combat Outpost Rabiya, a tiny compound recently erected by U.S. troops on the west side of Mosul. First, do not urinate in any of the three wooden outhouses built over a ditch in the back. The waste has to be burned since there is no running water, and that is difficult to do when it's wet. Visitors are politely told to direct fluids into a hose leading downhill to a creek. Second, when going to the toilet—or anywhere away from the shelters of the camp's twin tents—always wear a helmet and body armor. Mortars drop from the sky without warning, and enemy snipers lurk along the rooftops and in the windows of nearby buildings. Despite the prospect of being shot, however, Rabiya is "the perfect spot," says Captain Peter Norris, commander of the roughly 30 U.S. troops manning the base alongside a similar number of Iraqi soldiers. Reason: "You don't have to go far to find the enemy, and he knows we're here."

Norris, a 28-year-old Texan, and his men at Rabiya were among nearly 4,000 American troops deployed across northern Iraq late last fall. Those who came to Mosul found themselves in the midst of a battle the U.S. military had supposedly won years ago. This northern Iraqi city of 1.8 million people was thought to have been pacified in 2003, when the 101st Airborne Division under then Major General

David Petraeus executed a counter-insurgency strategy that many military analysts regarded as a model approach for the rest of Iraq. But Petraeus' successes largely disappeared soon after the 101st Airborne left the city in early 2004; Mosul's U.S. trained police force collapsed, and insurgents drifted in and out of the city as they staged fights in other places, such as Ramadi,



Samarra, Baqubah and Baghdad. Now the top U.S. commander in Iraq, Petraeus has spent the past year battling the insurgency in those areas, leading many militants to gather in Mosul again. And so troops like Sergeant John Fleenor, who was seriously wounded by a roadside bomb outside Mosul during his first deployment to Iraq, in 2004, are preparing to take back the city again. "It still smells the same," says the 24-year-old California native. "It still looks the same. I'm sure the people don't like us that much more."

For many American troops, Iraq is now a very familiar place. Though security has improved in some parts of the country, the gains remain fragile. The Pentagon says there will still be 140,000 troops in Iraq in July, up 8,000 from the 132,000 stationed there at the beginning of last year. The increase in troop numbers means that nearly a third of soldiers deployed to war zones, including Iraq and Afghanistan, are on at least their second tour of duty. While the Pentagon doesn't break down these statistics by theater, it's clear that the proportion is higher in Iraq, where many troops are on their third go-round.

In areas where the surge has been concentrated, many find that their task has changed dramatically since their previous tours. Staff Sergeant Shane Plummer, 27, was an infantryman during the 2003 assault on Baghdad and was posted to the Diyala River Valley in 2005. These days, he's based at Combat Outpost Cashe, 12 miles (20 km) southeast of Baghdad, where he focuses more on building relationships with Iraqis than on fighting them. With each tour, he says, "the mission has changed more toward making friends than finding the bad guy."

Returning troops find that some Iraqis, too, are more willing to make friends. Plummer, who is originally from Kansas, remembers how the Iraqis he encountered on his 2005 tour "would give us dirty looks and wouldn't tell us where the bad guys were." He says the mood has shifted to the friendliness he encountered on his first tour, when many Iraqis were grateful to be freed from Saddam Hussein's rule. Plummer says Iraqis are now happy to engage with him and his men on matters ranging from trash collection to counter-insurgency operations. "The more they get involved, the more I like them," says Plummer. "There are good Iraqi people."

But the mood is very different in places like Mosul, where things have gotten worse in the past year. Norris, the son of an Army chaplain, spent his previous tour in Diyala, but some of his men have had firsthand experience of Mosul. Fleenor earned a Purple Heart for the injuries

he sustained here in 2004, and he lost his best friend, Sergeant Frank Hernandez, to a roadside bomb during the same deployment. As he walks the confines of Rabiya, Fleenor still wears a black metal band on his wrist etched with Hernandez's name. Sergeant Tony Carter, 33, who also served in this city during the early days of the war, acknowledges a sense of frustration with the current situation in light of the years of efforts to calm the city. "Of course, if you spend any time trying to fix something and it continuously has issues, yeah, there's going to be frustration," says Carter, who's from North Carolina. "I think everybody is probably frustrated a little bit. You just want to see it improve and get better."

The More Things Change ...

THINGS DON'T SEEM TO BE GETTING BETTER at Rabiya. The surrounding streets have become the most contested ground in this part of Iraq. Insurgents move with relative freedom in the area, planting on average four roadside bombs a day while unleash-

'It still smells the same. It still looks the same. I'm sure the people don't like us that much more.'

—SERGEANT JOHN FLEENOR, 24, ON HIS SECOND TOUR OF DUTY IN MOSUL

ing periodic hails of small arms fire, rocket-propelled grenades and mortar shells in the direction of the small base. Four guard towers stand roughly 100 paces apart at corners of the outpost, framing a walled-off patch of muddy earth littered with shattered concrete and junked vehicles.

This used to be a municipal yard where the city parked dump trucks, steamrollers, backhoes and other vehicles. Norris and other officers had another spot in mind for the outpost, which overlooks the point where the main road linking Baghdad and northern Iraq meets a major artery running east and west. But insurgents had watched the troops as they scouted locations, and a sick comedy of explosions unfolded. Soldiers would eye a building and develop plans to occupy it, only to see it bombed shortly after they had visited it. At some point, someone graffitied a misspelled insult in English to the U.S. President on one of the bullet-pocked walls of the intersection, writing *BOOSH DOG* in tall black letters.

In the end, the Americans decided simply to seize the municipal yard in one

forceful move. About 150 soldiers suddenly appeared at the intersection on Jan. 19 in various armored vehicles. They blocked off the roads, threw up barriers, hauled out rubble and trash and set up two tents, one for themselves and one for the Iraqi army troopers. Within days, the compound was crackling with radio chatter and churning with humvees, Bradley fighting vehicles and tanks. Now U.S. soldiers usually spend two or three days at Rabiya before getting a short break back at the main U.S. camp, Forward Operating Base Marez, where they can eat a hot meal, take a shower and use a flushable toilet. But that base, too, periodically comes under mortar attack.

The U.S. military's strategy in Mosul today differs from that of the early years of the war in one significant respect: this time, Petraeus is pushing the Iraqi security forces to do much of the heavy lifting. Iraqi army forces that were pulled from Mosul to help secure Baghdad as part of Petraeus' surge are returning, and U.S. forces are also upping their efforts in the city: six combat outposts similar to Rabiya have gone up since December just on Mosul's west side, where insurgents have their strongest presence. Iraqi officials have claimed that the coming clash in Mosul will break the back of the insurgency. After a string of bombing attacks on the city, Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki on Jan. 25 vowed a "decisive battle" against insurgents in Mosul.

But a month later, the rhetoric has not been matched with action. Iraqi army troops, which number about 9,000, struggle to keep pace with the roughly 1,400 U.S. soldiers operating in Mosul. Even less able is the local police force, which has about the same number of men as the Iraqi army. Police ineptitude contributed to the undoing of U.S. successes in 2004, and there's little sign now that the police are ready to take the streets from the insurgents.

As in much of Iraq, the Americans remain the only credible guarantors of security. On a recent afternoon, Norris visited a police station near Rabiya to talk about plans for a checkpoint the Americans want to build and have the Iraqis control. The motor pool in front of the station house is full of battered Chevy pickups. Inside, the officer with whom Norris previously discussed the checkpoint is absent. An officer Norris doesn't know is there, in an office watching *A Fish Called Wanda* with the radio operator. Norris introduces himself and explains his idea for the new checkpoint, again. The officer on duty knows nothing about it and urges Norris to come back when the officer he dealt with before has returned. Nearly five years since Mosul's first liberation, some things haven't changed at all. ■

Ghosts of Kosovo

The latest flare-up in the Balkans is more smoke than fire, but crises like it may still come back to haunt us

ON FEB. 17, AFTER ALMOST A DECADE of legal limbo and two years of unsuccessful international mediation, Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia. The U.S. moved swiftly to recognize the new country, and nearly 2 million ethnic Albanians celebrated their long-awaited freedom, dancing in city streets, releasing fireworks and waving flags. Having bristled under Serbian rule and then U.N. administration, Kosovars were elated by the prospect of at last controlling their own affairs.

The Serbs weren't quite so thrilled. On Feb. 21, some 200,000 protested in Belgrade, chanting "Kosovo is Serbia" and holding placards that read, RUSSIA, HELP. Rioters set the U.S. embassy on fire; Russian President Vladimir Putin vowed never to recognize Kosovo and threatened to support secessionist movements in Georgia and Moldova.

Not so long ago, the scenes of unrest would have inspired fears of the kind of ethnic violence that devastated the Balkans in the '90s. But these are different times. Kosovo's ethnic Albanian leaders have belatedly tried to extend an olive branch to the province's aggrieved 120,000 Serbs. In addition to allowing Serbs in northern Kosovo to have their own police, schools and hospitals, Kosovo's new Prime Minister, Hashim Thaci, did the unthinkable: he delivered part of his inauguration speech in the hated Serbian language. Even in Serbia, whose citizens feel genuine humiliation over losing Kosovo (which Serb nationalists call their

"Jerusalem"), the protests should abate. Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica has threatened to retaliate against Kosovo's becoming independent by suspending talks with the European Union, but Kostunica can't afford to cut ties with the West. The E.U. supplies 49% of Serbia's imports and buys 56% of its exports—a far more valuable trade relationship than Serbia's with Russia.

But Kosovo matters to our future



because it underscores three alarming features of the current international system. First, it exposes the chill in relations between the U.S. and Russia, which is making it difficult for the U.N. Security Council to meet 21st century collective-security challenges. Putin has used the Kosovo standoff as yet another excuse to flaunt his petro-powered invincibility, sending his likely successor, Deputy Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev, to Belgrade to sign a gas agreement. If a firm international response is to be mobilized toward Iran, Sudan or other trouble spots in the coming years, the U.S. will have to find a way to persuade Russia to become a partner rather than a rival in improving collective security.

Second, the 27-country E.U., which is bitterly divided over Kosovo, lacks an overarching defense or security vision. After Kosovo declared independence, Britain, France and other countries offered recognition, while Spain, Romania, Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Slovakia refused to do so. Keeping peace in Kosovo will require European nations to put their citizens at risk. Unfortunately, the stated desire of many European countries to reduce their commitments to the NATO effort in Afghanistan does little to bolster confidence in Europe's eagerness to maintain international security.

Finally, the disagreements over Kosovo expose the world's fickleness in determining which secessionist movements deserve international recognition. If Kosovo's supporters were more transparent about the factors that made Kosovo worthy of recognition, they could help shape new guidelines. A claimant has a far stronger claim if, like Kosovo, it is relatively homogeneous and not yet self-governing, if it has been abused by the sovereign government and if its quest for independence does not incite its kin in a neighboring country to make comparable demands. Not all secessionists can clear that bar. Iraq's

Kurds, for instance, are clamoring for independence. But the Kurds are already exercising self-government, and their independence could have the destabilizing effect of causing the Kurdish population in Turkey to try to secede.

Western countries will have to work hard in the coming months to ensure that Kosovo and Serbia do not descend into violence. The larger problems highlighted by the impasse aren't going away anytime soon. Unless they're resolved, a U.S. embassy may not be all that goes up in flames during the next crisis. ■

TIME columnist and Harvard professor Power also advises Senator Barack Obama on foreign-policy issues

The disagreements over Kosovo expose the world's fickleness in determining which secessionist movements deserve recognition

Notes Of Hope

Music opens doors that had been closed to our correspondent for two decades. A surreal day and a magical evening in Pyongyang

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS CAN be a pretty jaded lot, full of a world-weariness that's partly feigned but partly real. But nobody was feeling—or even pretending to be—blasé aboard the chartered Asiana Airlines 747 from Beijing as it bore down on Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, on Feb. 25 carrying the New York Philharmonic orchestra and 80 mostly U.S. journalists. For many of us, North Korea has long been as remote as the dark side of the moon, so we were more than eager to get a look at it. Television cameramen jostled for position in window seats to capture images of the brown, frozen landscape as it came into view below. Reporters took out small digital cameras, even as flight attendants tried to shoo people back to their seats.

For me, years of pent-up curiosity would finally be satiated—at least a little. I've covered this country on and off for almost two decades—from Tokyo, Moscow, Beijing and now Shanghai—but despite repeated requests for a visa, I'd never been allowed in. Perhaps this was because I'm a U.S. citizen, and we're still technically at war with North Korea. More likely it was because my stories about this little-known country had not exactly flattered its despotic rulers: the late Great Leader Kim Il Sung and his son, Dear Leader Kim Jong Il. Now, thanks to the Philharmonic's historic visit, I was finally going to see the place for myself.

It soon became clear that I would not be seeing very much of it. The North Koreans, to

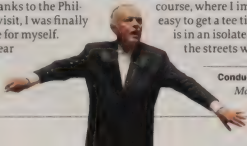
say the least, are control freaks. Hordes of government minders immediately surrounded us on the tarmac as we waited for the orchestra's music director, Lorin Maazel, and his musicians to have a group picture taken in front of a beaming mosaic of the Great Leader. The minders, whose forced conviviality didn't hide the tension in their faces, would not leave our side until about 44 hours later, when we got on a flight out of Pyongyang.

We boarded buses and headed into town—about a 15-mile (25 km) journey—and some of the North Korea I'd read about and heard about from diplomats and refugees and defectors started to become real. In the late afternoon gloom, we passed row after row of apartment buildings and office buildings, almost all unlit. People either trudged along the side of the road or rode bikes, many stopping to stare at our convoy. And every mile or so, there stood in the middle of the road a female traffic cop in an aqua blue uniform and a fur-lined hat, holding herself ramrod straight and wielding a baton to point the way to drivers. She had one of the world's easier jobs, because there was no traffic to direct.

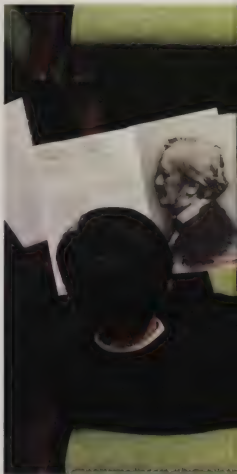
We were deposited in Yanggakdo International Hotel, a 47-story structure that sits on an island in Pyongyang's Taedong River and abuts a nine-hole golf course, where I imagine it's pretty easy to get a tee time. The hotel is in an isolated spot, far from the streets where we might

encounter ordinary North Koreans. And that was the point: our hosts plainly didn't want us mingling. When I later groused about it to the Pyongyang correspondent for the Russian news agency ITAR TASS, he just chuckled. "Don't you know what foreigners here call your hotel?" he asked. "Alcatraz. Difficult to get into—and even harder to leave."

While the orchestra rehearsed, our minders took the journalists on a whirlwind tour of Pyongyang. One highlight: a hill overlooking the city, where a gigantic bronze statue of the Great Leader stands in front of the Korean Revolutionary Museum. There was no one around as we snapped photos of one another in front of the Big Man, but as we were about to leave, a group of around 40 people walked up in orderly rows, approaching the statue reverentially and then bowing deeply. But before we could ask what, exactly, the Great Leader meant to them, their tour guide herded them off. When we were back on the bus, we got a tongue-lashing in Korean from a senior minder. My group's minder, Mr. Kim, sheepishly interpreted: "Stick to the schedule.



Conducting history Lorin Maazel wields the baton in Pyongyang





Glimpse of the West North Koreans leaf through the program of the New York Philharmonic

Otherwise, you'll never be able to see everything, and you'll get in trouble."

As hard as the government tried to prevent it, little bits of reality kept seeping out from behind the curtain. At the Grand People's Study House, a sort of public library that conducts free classes in a variety of subjects, a colleague accidentally opened a door and found herself in a classroom that was dimly lit and at least 15°F (8°C) colder than the ones we had been shown. Some of the students wore winter jackets and hats. Earlier that morning, a member of the orchestra arrived late for a lavish breakfast buffet and found a couple of waitresses taking pictures of the mountains of unfinished food. It's been 10 years since the great famine ended, killing an estimated 2 million or more North Koreans, but the waitresses at Alcatraz had never seen a spread quite like the one served to us that morning.

The swings between humor and pathos ended that evening at the East Pyongyang Grand Theater, an ornate, three-tier or-

chestra hall whose stage had recently been fitted with a new acoustic shell to make the venue worthy of the New York Philharmonic. About 1,400 people jammed the hall—a few dozen foreign diplomats and business people, the rest North Koreans. When Maazel took the podium, it quickly became clear that the evening would be one of emotion. North Korean and U.S. flags stood at either end of the stage, and the audience rose as both nations' anthems were played. For the next two hours, it was easy to forget that during the afternoon's bus ride, we had passed a poster of a giant fist slamming a helpless little Uncle Sam that read, SMASH THE USA.

The musicians played compositions

With Kim Jong Il at the helm, can a single, scintillating concert help transform North Korea?

Hermit Kingdom

For more photos from the New York Philharmonic's trip to North Korea, go to time.com/philharmonic

by Richard Wagner, Antonin Dvorak and George Gershwin, but it was the last piece that brought down the house. *Arirang* is a 600-year-old Korean folk anthem adored in both North and South, and the orchestra "played it beautifully," a beaming Mr. Kim pronounced. As the musicians left the stage, some turned and waved goodbye, and many in the audience reciprocated. The cheers then got louder and went on and on.

Associate principal bass player Jon Deak later said he was near tears. So too was assistant concertmaster Michelle Kim, a descendant of a North Korean family. "Tonight I didn't feel South Korean or North Korean, but Korean," she said. U.S. diplomats present were euphoric. Former U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry, who once presented plans to President Bill Clinton for bombing the North's nuclear sites, gushed that the evening "may have pushed us over the top" when it comes to negotiating about the North's nuclear-weapons program.

But this is still Kim Jong Il's North Korea we're talking about—a rogue regime, with nukes that exports narcotics and possibly nuclear-weapons technology, that brutally suppresses its own people. It's not just our hotel that's Alcatraz; the entire country is a prison, and thousands risk their lives to escape. About a year and a half ago, I sat in a small apartment outside the town of Yanji in northeast China with two people who had recently fled the North. One, a young woman, told me how her mother had been hauled off to a political prison, where she had fallen ill and died. The other refugee, a young man, said he was simply tired of the poverty he faced in a small village. "There is no future in our country," he told me.

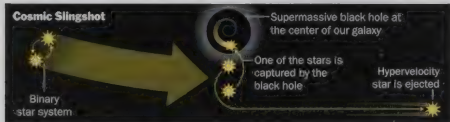
Can a concert, however scintillating, help change that? It's hard to know what ordinary North Koreans made of the event: the official newspaper buried the story on page 4. When he introduced Gershwin's *An American in Paris*, Maazel told the audience that perhaps one day another composer would write a famous symphony titled *An American in Pyongyang*. The crowd laughed—and applauded long and hard, endorsing the sentiment. But the possibility of that ever happening still lies with Kim Jong Il, and he didn't even turn up for the show. ■

Celestial Speeders

The Milky Way's stars move in predictably lazy ways—but 10 of them are breaking all the rules



Traffic circle It's hard to see the few stars that break the march of the night sky, but they're there, racing away at a million m.p.h.



IN A COSMOS FILLED WITH PERIPATETIC objects like comets, stars appear to be reliable anchor points. But even in the otherwise orderly Milky Way, at least 10 stars have jumped the rails, blasting along at more than a million miles (1.6 million km) per hour. Mysterious as all of them seem, there's one that's a true puzzle.

It was in 2005 that the first hypervelocity star was found, but astronomers have believed since the 1980s that these stars might exist. A pair of gravitationally linked stars could wander too close to the black hole that lurks in the galactic core, causing one to be sucked in and the other to be violently flung off into space.

Nine of the 10 known hypervelocity stars were probably set in motion this way, but two postdoctoral students at the Carnegie Institution of Washington suggest that the 10th, known as HE 0437-5439, came not from our galaxy but from the nearby Large Magellanic Cloud (LMC). Mercedes Lopez-Morales and Alcestes Bonanos analyzed the position and speed of HE 0437-5439 and calculated that if it came from the Milky Way's core, it must have been traveling for 100 million years. Yet its color and mass put its age at 35 million years. The alternative is that it came from the LMC, which means it didn't have to travel so far. The scientists studied the composition of the star and found that it matched that of LMC stars—a sign that it's indeed an immigrant. The Milky Way's hypervelocity stars are probably outward bound too. There's little risk that we could get whacked by one as it leaves, though. Stars are big, but space is much, much bigger. —BY MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

BRIEFS

Senior Memories

THE STUDY Researchers at the University of Michigan studying 11,000 elderly Americans found that people over 70 are sharper than ever. Over a nine-year period, the investigators report, the rate of significant cognitive impairment, including Alzheimer's disease and other types of dementia, declined from 12.2% of the sample population to 8.7%.

WHAT THIS MEANS Some memory loss is inevitable with age, but the improvements shown in the study suggest that at least some lapses can be held off, in part by protecting the brain with mental stimulation and keeping the heart healthy, which enhances circulation and keeps neurons active. —BY ALICE PARK

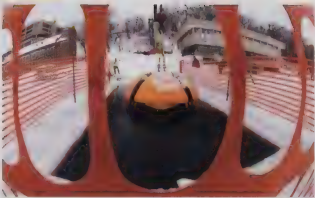


How Race Affects Smoking

THE STUDY Columbia University researchers report that African Americans and Hispanics have a harder time quitting smoking than whites do. After eight weeks of treatment with a combination of bupropion, the nicotine patch and counseling, about 40% of smokers in the minority groups were able to remain smoke-free for four weeks, compared with 60% of the white group.

WHAT THIS MEANS While the study did not explain the results, it did suggest answers. African Americans were less likely to quit if they were of normal weight or lived with other smokers, hinting that their smoking could be related to worries about weight gain or lack of support in quitting. Younger Hispanics were least likely to quit, which suggests that age-specific messages might be helpful. —A.P.





Ice Diver

Antarctica's Lake Bonney is an inaccessible place locked under 15 ft. of ice. But scientists may soon explore it, thanks to a 6.5-ft., 3,000-lb. NASA-funded robot sub just tested in Wisconsin's Lake Mendota. The sub performed so well, it could be diving in Lake Bonney by year's end. It may also serve as a prototype for a mission to the icy oceans on Jupiter's moon Europa.

Rain, rain, go away. Now. China is leaving nothing to chance as it plans the Olympics

LESSER COUNTRIES MIGHT WISH FOR clear weather on an important day. China makes it happen. Last month Chinese officials announced that they will work to ensure that the skies remain bright during the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics this August, tracking clouds in the days leading up to the ceremonies and, if any threaten to deliver an untimely shower, forcing the rain to fall early.

There's nothing new about cloud seeding, which has been around since the 1940s. Scientists at General Electric discovered that dropping dry ice into a cloud could help droplets too small to fall freeze into tiny clumps, forming heavier drops. Today weather modifiers often use silver iodide to create a similar effect.

Cloud seeding is not practiced much in the U.S. anymore, as scientists have concluded that it doesn't work reliably. But don't tell the Chinese. The country has by far the biggest weather-modification service in the world, reportedly with 7,000 anti-aircraft guns and 4,900 rocket launchers that can fire chemicals into the sky.

Mao Zedong once said, "Man must control nature." But environmental hubris is visible in such things as China's dirty skies and the 1,000 sq. mi. (2,590 sq km) of territory it loses to desertification every year. Whether or not Beijing can ensure a sunny Olympics, the state of the nation demonstrates that you mess with nature at your peril. —BY BRYAN WALSH. WITH REPORTING BY AUSTIN RAMZY/BEIJING

HOW IT WORKS

1 Silver iodide or other particles are injected into a cloud by airplanes or artillery

Silver iodide particles

2 Even in the summer, the tiny droplets of water in clouds can become supercooled, but they remain liquid unless they can nucleate around microscopic particles like dust

3 Silver iodide, which mimics the crystalline structure of ice, provides more such particles, allowing snowflakes to form and grow

4 When a snowflake grows large enough, it becomes too heavy to remain aloft. As it falls, it melts and becomes rain

534,500

LIVES SAVED FROM CANCER

THE SURVEY In its annual report, the American Cancer Society reveals that the death rate from cancer continues to drop because of better detection and treatment. From 1990 to 2004, deaths fell 18% for men and 10% for women. That's more than half a million lives saved.

WHAT THIS MEANS While the downward trend is good news, cancer remains a formidable killer. The half a million saved since 1990 are matched by the half a million who die every year from the disease. What's more, while the death rate fell 2% from 2003 to 2004, the next year there was only a 1% improvement. —A.P.

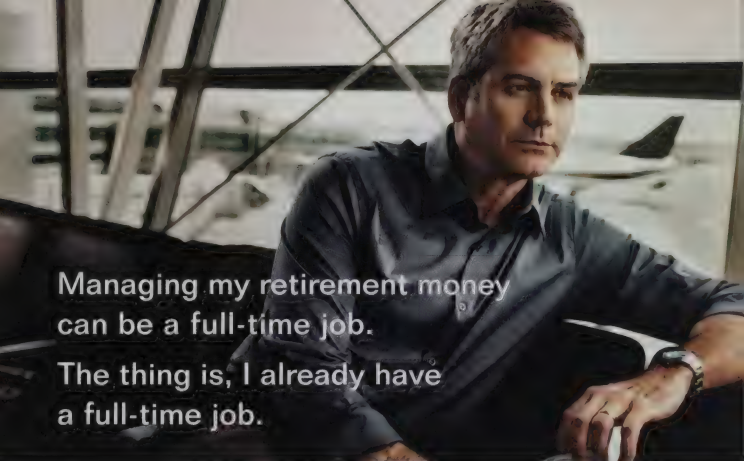
FROM THE LABS



Mighty Mice

THE STUDY Researchers at the biotech firm Novocell report the first successful use of human embryonic stem cells (HESCs) in treating a disease—diabetes—in mice. After generating HESCs from excess fertility-clinic embryos, the scientists cultured the cells for 12 days in a medium that directed them to become pancreatic cells. These were transplanted into mice whose own pancreatic cells had been deliberately destroyed, making them insulin-deficient. Within 45 days, new cells began producing fresh insulin.

WHAT THIS MEANS FOR US It's just a first step. In humans with Type 1 diabetes, the body destroys pancreatic cells, so the stem cells might be attacked the same way. The HESCs also produced tumors in the mice, making the method too dangerous to use yet. —A.P.



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More Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to time.com/curiouscapitalist

Visa Charges On

If this is the worst financial crisis since the 1930s, why can the credit-card giant plan the biggest IPO ever?

OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS, WE HAVE heard banker after Wall Streeter after mortgage lender declare that market conditions are the worst since they got into the business. Some go even further. "The worst market crisis in 60 years," pronounced investor George Soros. "The worst financial crisis since 1931," declared a top German regulator. "We have not seen a nationwide decline in housing like this since the Great Depression," said the CEO of Wells Fargo.

Not the best time, you might think, to sell shares in the biggest initial public offering (IPO) in Wall Street history. Especially not a financial IPO. Yet here we have credit-card giant Visa, now owned by its member banks, announcing plans to peddle up to 446 million shares of stock in late March for an expected take of between \$15 billion and \$19 billion.

Giant IPOs are usually a sign of good, or at least frothy, times. The current record haul for a U.S. IPO, \$10.6 billion, was reaped by AT&T Wireless in April 2000—just after the great tech-stock bubble began to deflate but before anybody realized it. (The world-record holder is and apparently will remain the Industrial & Commercial Bank of China, which raised \$21.6 billion in an IPO in 2006.)

What gives with Visa? One possibility is that the company and its investment bankers are deluded and the IPO will crash and burn—but the current thinking on the Street is that it won't have trouble finding buyers. Another is that the financial types who've been crying crisis have been crying wolf. But the housing market is in its worst slump

since the Depression. Some debt markets have completely stopped functioning. The overindebted American consumer is showing signs of great stress.

So there must be other explanations for why the company that is perhaps the greatest enabler of American (and, increasingly, global) consumption, born in 1958 as BankAmericard and rechristened

you run a private-equity firm and want to finance a \$15 billion takeover, forget it. But if your credit's O.K. and you want to charge a trip to Hawaii or you're the profitable, growing leader of the global electronic-payments business and you want to raise \$15-plus billion, go for it!

This was not remotely the case during the darkest years of the Great Depression,

1931 and 1932. In those days, financial activity of all kinds—mortgage loans, IPOs, consumer lending, commercial lending—almost entirely ceased. The result was true disaster. The economy shrank 26% in three years. Unemployment hit 25%.

Many of the forces that initially sent the economy into a tailspin in 1929 and 1930 have been at work in the 2000s as well: a stock-market boom turned bust, a real estate boom turned bust, unprecedented levels of consumer debt. The reason they haven't metastasized 1930s-style is that this time around, the Federal



Visa in 1976, has chosen now of all times to go public. One is that Visa makes its money (a \$424 million profit in the last quarter of 2007, up 70% from a year earlier) from transaction fees, not lending, so it doesn't have to worry nearly as much as banks do about people making their credit-card payments. Another is that the banks that own Visa stand to make more than \$10 billion from the IPO—JP Morgan Chase alone should clear \$1 billion—and they need the money.

The main reason Visa can contemplate an IPO now is that, for all the troubles, large parts of the global financial system continue to function just fine. If you have bad credit and want a mortgage or

Reserve has acted forcefully, whereas in 1930 it was a spectator at the national train wreck.

The action started in 2001 and 2002, with the Fed bringing interest rates close to zero as the stock market melted down. It continued last fall with the frantic efforts by the Fed and its counterparts in Europe to keep skittish banks lending to one another, and this year with more rate cuts from the Fed. These policies can't cure longer-run problems like the low savings rate and stagnant wages, and they'll probably have all sorts of unpleasant side effects (inflation, for one). But you don't have to work at Visa to think they're preferable to reliving the 1930s. ■

The main reason Visa can contemplate an IPO now is that, for all the troubles, large parts of the global financial system continue to function just fine



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Folks looking to consolidate debt are using the Internet to ask for help from a friend or stranger

JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN, FINANCE, PAGE 58

Life

□ LIVING □ HEALTH □ FINANCE □ TRAVEL



Lower Birch Island, Maine
Buyers have been snapping up
isles like this one in Pleasant Bay

LIVING

Your Own Private Island. New technology makes living on one more feasible. How to find the ultimate waterfront property

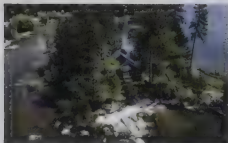
BY KRISTINA DELL

WHEN A.J. LONGMAID SPENT HIS BOYHOOD summers on Spectacle Island, a private 4.5-acre (1.8 hectare) refuge off the coast of Bar Harbor, Maine, his family had no electricity or pressurized water. He read by kerosene lamp and showered by pouring a bucket of freezing water over his head. Today Longmaid, 30, not only has hot showers and electric power on the is-

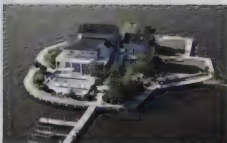
land but also can make cell-phone calls, watch television and surf the Net via satellite. "People don't even realize they aren't connected to the mainland when they're here because everything is the same," says Longmaid, who lives on Spectacle Island with his girlfriend from May to October and rents a second house to guests. The couple spends the winter in Florida, where he works as a yacht captain.

Driven by the seemingly endless Amer-

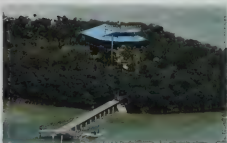
ican fascination with real estate and the continual thirst for affordable, less developed seaside views, island dwelling has become practicable and increasingly popular. Many islands that were once considered uninhabitable wildernesses have become desirable properties. Over the past 10 years, a growing number of people have been snapping them up in the U.S., paying anywhere from \$200,000 to \$5 million, depending on size and lo-



Diamond Lake Island, Wash. Surrounded by lake and mainland views, this 1-acre island near Newport is equipped with modern utilities



Middle Sedge Island, N.J. Although it sits off the coast from a highly populated beach community, this spot offers its owners peaceful seclusion



Melody Key, Fla. This 5.5-acre private escape, outfitted with modern conveniences by a rock musician, is about 25 miles from Key West

cation. Typically, prices run about 20% cheaper per acre than traditional waterfront properties in the same locale—a discount reflecting the extra hassle it takes to get to one—but that gap is starting to narrow as demand rises.

Some buyers enjoy the status that comes with owning a unique parcel of land surrounded by 360° water views. Others are seeking a more intimate connection to nature, a slower pace of life or the increasingly elusive senses of privacy and security. Interest spiked after the 9/11

attacks, says Chris Krolow, CEO of Private Islands Inc., a company specializing in island sales. There are an estimated 700 habitable private islands in the U.S., most located off the coasts of New York, Maine, New Jersey and Connecticut; in the Great Lakes region; along the shores of Florida and the Carolinas; and in the Pacific Northwest. The fact that only 150 are for sale at any given time adds to the allure of owning one. State governments and environmental groups have been limiting construction on many islands off the coasts of

Maine and Florida, further reducing the supply. Islands in premium locations have high resale values.

Nick Hexum, lead singer of the reggae rock band 311, bought a 5.5-acre mangrove-lined island near Key West, Fla., as a getaway from his hectic touring life. Fittingly, he changed its name from Money Key to Melody Key. His house rests on stilts and is built in the shape of two hexagons in order to better weather hurricanes. It has a pool, air-conditioning and Internet access. Hexum spends much of his time there snapper-fishing and scuba-diving. "Maybe it's too sleepy for some people, but that's what I go down there for," he says. He paid \$2.8 million for the property five years ago and, after many renovations, has put it on the market for \$7 million because he has less time to make the cross-country trip from his home in Los Angeles.

The purchase price is just the first of the expenses and challenges that come with owning land in the middle of a body of water. There's the cost of getting there and back, and of course, all supplies must be transported by boat or air from the mainland. Bob MacDonald, 62, owner of Lower Birch Island in Addison, Maine, recalls how he and his wife once had to transport their refrigerator by canoe. When they're on-site, modern conveniences like dishwashers and washing machines often require costly power-generation systems. Recently, however, some owners have begun turning to solar and wind power. "You have to go green," says Longmaid. "With out solar panels, there is no other way for me to turn on a light." Longmaid, who inherited his island from his parents, who paid about \$65,000 for it 30 years ago, has also installed his own generator powered desalination system, which makes 600 gallons of fresh water from ocean water every six hours—enough for up to 14 people. Solar power recharges a large bank of batteries when his generator shuts down. "A lot of man-hours go into keeping up an island," says Longmaid. But a hot shower and a good movie afterward make every thing worth it.

☒ Do you have what it takes to own an island?

Sure, it sounds great. But here are some things to consider before signing the deed



A.J. Longmaid surveys his private domain in Maine

Do you have a pioneering personality? Most island owners are entrepreneurial spirits. "[We see] all types from all age groups and backgrounds except for one thing: all are very strong individualists," says island real-estate agent Farhad Vladi.

Can you afford it? Homeowners' insurance is tough to get, and very few lenders will give financing

for island properties. In addition, construction costs can run 30% to 60% more than on the mainland since you're hauling everything from doorknobs to sewer systems.

Are you handy? You can't just call the plumber when the toilet backs up or the systems break and leave you without electricity or running water. Mechanical and carpentry skills help.

Are you healthy and hardy? You're a boat ride away from

a hospital or doctor. You should be in good enough shape to climb in and out of boats and haul things.

Do you need people around? If you get lonely easily, island living isn't for you—unless you surround yourself with family and friends. (Then you'd better really enjoy their company.) "A lot of things that bother other people about islands, I enjoy," says Chris Krolow of Private Islands Inc., who owns one on Canada. "I like being stranded."

TOOTH-LENGTHENING

Why: Upper front teeth grind down by 1 mm per decade

The procedure: Washington dentist Daniel Deutsch makes teeth look longer by laminating them or reshaping gums

Cost: \$1,500–\$1,800 per tooth

BUTT LIFT AND IMPLANT

Why: Slacks can't hide a saggy, deflated tush

The procedure: Buttock lifts (up 660% in men from 2000 to 2006) involve surgically lifting baggy behinds; implants, a newer option, mean inserting silicone sacks

Cost: \$4,500

NECK TUCK

Why: The weight of men's skin can cause their "necks to hang over their shirt collars," says Dr. Richard D'Amico, chief of plastic surgery at Englewood Hospital in New Jersey

The procedure: It's a face-lift—for the neck
Cost: \$4,800

HAIR RESTORATION

Why: From 20% to 30% of women have hair loss; 14% of hair transplant patients are female

The procedure: A strip of hair is taken from a more hirsute area of the head and surgically transplanted
Cost: Up to \$10,000 a session

EARLOBE REPAIR

Why: Those chandeliers you've been dangling since the '70s? Your lobes now look like Dumbo's

The procedure: Dr. Neil Sadick says fillers like Restylane and Juvederm make baggy earlobes "look fresh and more volumized"

Cost: \$500–\$800 per ear

New Ways to Tap into The Fountain of Youth

A full wallet and a moderately high pain threshold can buy admiring comments at the watercooler

KNEE-TIGHTENING

Why: Skin and cellulite pool around the knees—unsightly at the gym

The procedure: Dr. Suzanne Marini Levine, a New York City podiatric surgeon, uses infrared lasers to blast unwanted flab and crepeyness
Cost: \$500

STILETTO SURGERY

Why: Years of wearing pumps gnarl feet, and heels remain part of the dress code at the office

The procedure: Dr. Levine injects smoothing fillers like Sculptra into the sole and surgically removes corns
Cost: \$500 per syringe; \$1,500–\$4,000 for corns

EXTREME HAND MAKEOVER

Why: Knobby, spotted hands say old lady—and gloves aren't this century

The procedure: Doctors can erase spots with lasers, and some recommend plumping up hands with injected fillers
Cost: \$300–\$1,500 for lasers; \$2,000 for fillers

HEALTH

How Not to Look Old on the Job. More boomers are working into their senior years, and who wants to look like the office geezer?

BY LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN

SAY WHAT YOU WANT ABOUT the glories of growing old—the gaining of wisdom, the drooling of grandbabies, the half-off tickets to matinees of *The Bucket List*. When it comes to the physical manifestations of advanced years, though, there ain't no euphemizing the indignities. Knees go. Teeth crumble. Ear hairs

sprout. Or as Charla Krupp, author of the new best seller *How Not to Look Old*, puts it, "Aging sucks."

It's worse for baby boomers, who must grow old in full view of their colleagues. AARP says 79% of boomers plan to work into the traditional retirement years—good news for employers facing a shortage of skilled workers, bad news for the condo market in

Florida. "One way to stay competitive in the workplace is to look young, hip and current," says Krupp.

Job anxiety is helping drive what analysts estimate is a \$50 billion antiaging industry. Boomers are already the largest consumers of hair-coloring products, cosmetic dentistry and plastic surgery. That includes the men too. The American Society of Plastic

Surgeons says men received 1 out of 10 procedures in 2006. New York City cosmetic surgeon Dr. Neil Sadick says up to a quarter of his patients are male, many of them boomers whose goal is to look good for the office.

Good thing new antiaging remedies never get old. The trick is not to look as though you're trying too hard. "You don't want a man coming in with a bad toupee and lots of makeup," says Lou Kacyn, a partner at global headhunters Egon Zehnder International. So save the leather pants for the weekend Harley ride. **REPORTED BY ANDREA SACHS**

Think About It

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Hey, Buddy, Can You Spare \$10,000?

Peer-to-peer loans are rewriting the rules of credit and making bankers out of average folks

BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

THE SLUMPING ECONOMY HAS sent the banking system into panic mode, making it tough for even people with the best credit rating to get a good interest rate. So a rising number of folks looking to consolidate debt, buy an engagement ring, finance their small business or pay off a mortgage are

using the Internet to ask for help from a friend or, more often, a stranger.

The nascent peer-to-peer (P2P) loan industry, in which regular people exchange cash with the help of an online facilitator, had about \$650 million in outstanding debt in 2007. Prosper, the first such matchmaker in the U.S., which started in 2006

and now has 600,000 users, and Lending Club, described below, are sort of financial eBay: borrowers post a request, and lenders bid on how much and at what interest rate they want to give. Several—or several dozen—people fund the loan at a rate agreeable to all. The intermediary runs a credit check, calculates returns and takes a fee.

It might sound like a setup for another subprime-mortgage debacle. But so far, Lending Club's default rate is less than 0.5%. That's partly because P2P members are motivated to pay back or lend to an actual person rather than a big bank. Since May 2006, Marilyn Paguirigan of Honolulu has lent a total of \$30,000 to more than 100 people on Prosper, most of whom she has never met. "I measure my returns in not just the dollar amount," says Paguirigan, who happily makes 6% to 7% on her loans. "It's in the fulfillment I get from helping people." Here's a typical P2P loan:



THE ONLINE MIDDLEMAN

Making the Connection

2 HOW IT WORKS: The average loan is \$9,500, funded by 22 to 25 people.

WHO DOES IT: Lending Club, which launched last May, relies on fairly strict rules and works with people in affiliated groups, matching up, say, travel agents or MIT alums with peers.

LendingClub

"The connections not only help persuade lenders to participate," says founder and CEO Renaud LaPlanche. "They also make borrowers more responsible and more accountable."



THE BORROWERS

Seeking a Cheaper Loan

1 HOW IT WORKS: Borrowers need credit scores of at least 640 (of 850 maximum) and a debt-to-income ratio of 30% or less.

WHO DOES IT: Even with credit scores in the 700s, Cristeli Schemidt and Rafael Ferrer of Davie, Fla., could not get an interest rate below 15%. In October they took most of their debt—\$5,000—to Lending Club. They pay \$136 a month at a fixed 11.41%.

"We were so frustrated with the credit companies," says Ferrer. "Now we're free."



THE LENDER

Looking for a Higher Yield

3 HOW IT WORKS: Lenders list the total amount they'd like to loan and the risk level they can stand. They can select individual borrowers who meet their criteria, or the site's Lending Match program will generate a portfolio. The mean 12.32% interest rate beats the current 3% average return on a CD.

WHO DOES IT: Bernadette Lui of San Jose, Calif., has \$3,125 spread among 13 three-year loans. She earns 14.6% and is considering reinvesting her returns with new borrowers.

"They're pretty small dollar amounts on each loan," Lui says. "I figured it would be acceptable if someone defaulted."



Illustrations for TIME by Peter and Maria Hoey

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TRAVEL TIPS

The Real China. Whether you're heading east for business or pleasure, here's what you need to know to feel at home



Bright lights
Hong Kong's
Lan Kwai Fong
district is a
local hot spot

NIGHT OUT

The Perfect Evening in Hong Kong

Local knowledge is essential in a neon jungle like Hong Kong. Restaurateur, architect and Hong Kong resident Frank Sun recommends starting with a drink at the historic Mandarin Oriental hotel, followed by a walk to Sheung Wan—a “very different side of old Hong Kong and one that is rapidly disappearing.” Satisfy your appetite at the Tung Po seafood restaurant in North Point, above the market at 99 Java Road, a 20-minute tram ride away. Once you're stuffed, Sun says, a cab is the quickest way to the funkier bar in town, Feather Boa. The antiques store turned bar is always crowded, he says, but the delicious drinks and friendly atmosphere make it worth elbowing your way in. —WITH REPORTING BY JO BAKER

MUSIC

The Best Jazz Club in Beijing

When Liu Yuan started playing the sax, jazz was still seen as bourgeois and chord charts were hard to come by. Raised by folk-musician parents, he performed with Cui Jian, the father of Chinese rock, before dedicating himself—under the influences of John Coltrane and Miles Davis—to jazz. Now Liu's East Shore is the most promising venue in Beijing's budding jazz scene.



Cool vibes
Performers at
the East Shore
bar play late
into the night

GADGETS

Instant Translation

Whipping out an unwieldy pocket dictionary midconversation is often embarrassing, but in a place as linguistically complex as China, an English-Chinese dictionary can be indispensable. One solution is PlecoDict, a program for Palm devices and Pocket PCs that includes up to five dictionaries. You can find words by searching in English or in Chinese—by romanized spelling or character. The software also includes a flash-card program, so you can learn new words while you're stuck in Beijing traffic.



Petite Photographer

Capturing daily life in China is fun at a moment when history is being made almost every day, but carrying around two cameras—for stills and video—can be frustrating. The tiny Sanyo Xacti CG65 takes 6-megapixel photos and can produce Web-ready video too.

Located on the banks of Lake Houhai, East Shore is a refuge from the trinket sellers and gaudy bars along the crowded shore. Its large windows give clear views over the water, and leather armchairs and dark wooden floorboards provide the necessary sultry ambiance. Thursdays through Sundays, a constellation of house bands, including the owner's Liu Yuan Jazz Quartet, plays from 10 p.m. until late, usually packing the 30-some-seat bar. —BY LINA TORNIQUET AND POPPY TOLAND

When he checked in, he was Mr. Simmons.



When he checked out, he was just plain Bob.

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Team-building limits surprises
in the very situations where
they are most likely to arise

PAIGE BOWERS, ON THE AID ORGANIZATION CARE

Global Business

□ LIFE AT THE TOP □ TOP BUSINESS TEAMS



Amped Ivan Messer, on the TV screen, has 45 McIntosh components in his million-dollar home theater

LIFE AT THE TOP

A New Tune for High-End Audio. McIntosh, beloved by fans but bereft of strategy, got a remix from its latest owner

BY KRISTINA DELL

"NOTHING BUT THE BEST OR WHY BOTHER?" is Ivan Messer's motto. His son describes him as a "first class or stay home" kind of guy. So it came as no surprise to his family when the 51-year-old money manager from Coral Springs, Fla., spent five years and a million dollars building a home theater. His setup includes 14 speakers, 16 amplifiers and 400 amps of current—more power than entire homes consume. "The system makes the speakers and walls disappear,"

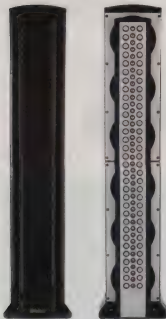
says Messer. "You could get seasick watching *Master and Commander* in my theater."

Even more important to Messer than his 10-ft. (3 m) screen or \$60,000 overhead projector is the McIntosh name that adorns every piece of audio gear. And we're not referring to Steve Jobs' brand—that would be Macintosh—but to the American producer of hi-fi components, which has cultivated an insanely loyal following over the past 50 years. Messer started accumulating the brand about 20 years ago, as soon as he could afford its bank-breaking prices.

He spent \$25,000 on his first system—a steal compared with the four 7-ft.-tall (2 m) XRT2K Mac loudspeakers he recently purchased for \$45,000 each. "It's a big boy toy," he says. "If there were another brand better, I would get it, but 90% of what McIntosh makes is the best in its class."

But being the best—or the highest priced—doesn't guarantee profits. Attacked by Japanese copycat brands from below and other cult brands from above over the past decade, the audio market has become a rough place for niche labels like

The Sound of Money. At these prices, McIntosh components aren't for the casual listener



Can you hear me now? The towering XRT2K speakers are Mac's flagship items and will set you back \$45,000 each



Signal control Retailing for \$9,000 and weighing 54 lbs. (24 kg), the C7000 tube preamplifier has both solid-state and vacuum tubes



Sound check The soon-to-be-released AP1000 audio processor will cost about \$11,000 and can electronically unify sound position in a room

McIntosh. That led to a buyout 4½ years ago by D&M Holdings, a Japanese audio company traded on the Tokyo Stock Exchange—a far cry from the rural headquarters of the McIntosh Laboratory in Binghamton, N.Y.

D&M Holdings was itself formed by the merger of Denon and Marantz, two struggling, mid-to-upper market Japanese audio firms, with an investment by the private-equity group Ripplewood Holdings. Soon after, D&M went on a consolidation spree, snapping up additional A/V brands like Boston Acoustics, Snell Acoustics, Replay TV, Escent and recently Calrec Audio, a British company that builds mixing consoles for broadcast production. Mac fit as the crown jewel. "I call us a big start-up," says Victor Pacor, D&M's president. In the past fiscal year, the company had sales of almost \$1 billion and earnings of \$53 million.

Perhaps you've heard that tune before? It's the strategy that Bernard Arnault used so brilliantly in creating LVMH out of a bunch of high-end, underachieving fashion labels: share resources, consolidate the back end to cut costs but nourish the brands' creativity, quality and individuality. "They have more money to do better development and make better products," says audiophile Tim Schwartz, 47, of Good-year, Ariz., who owns \$250,000 worth of McIntosh gear. "The company is leaving them alone so Randall can do his thing."

That would be Charlie Randall, 42, since 2003 McIntosh's amicable and revered president, who started working at the company when he was a 19-year-old student at Rochester Institute of Technology. Randall was there in 1991 when the outfit was bought by Clarion, a car audio specialist, which transformed the brand into a supplier for the luxury-car market.

But ultimately, Randall wanted McIntosh to return to its roots, making superior vacuum tubes and solid-state amplifiers with enormous amounts of power and bulletproof accuracy. (Higher power and lower distortion rates are what characterized the revolutionary amplifier that launched the company in 1949.) By adding leading edge CD players, music servers for digital files and iPod docks, Mac would be set for the next generation of audiophiles. D&M Holdings liked the plan. "We told

them, 'Here is an opportunity to create what you want,'" says Pacor. "You can't do that when you're struggling to make payroll." One such venture: the first McIntosh turntable, to address the underground resurgence of vinyl. Yours for \$8,000.

D&M has also infused much needed capital and resources into Binghamton's baby to expand its global footprint. Since the takeover in May 2003, McIntosh's export business has boomed; nearly half its retail is now outside the U.S. Mac sales have increased 59%, while production costs have decreased 11.5%. The net effect: gross profits are up a stunning 80%.


Rapid expansion has not altered the company's small-town feel. The Binghamton factory, while churning out a wide range of products, creates only a few of each per month, so outsourcing isn't efficient. Besides, customers swear by Mac's personal touch, with many making a pilgrimage to upstate New York for a factory tour. (Diehards bring their owner's manual so Randall can autograph it.) "Mac is one of those companies like Harley Davidson that is nostalgic and supports U.S. jobs," says Schwartz. "How could you leave something like that?" There is still some hand assembly, and a final inspector, Shirley, approves each product before shipping. "We are never the earliest developers of a technology," says Randall. "We wait for the dust to settle, and then the technology is mature enough so we can add to it."

Still, who can afford \$45,000 speakers? Rock stars, pro athletes, doctors, lawyers and audiophiles so obsessed with music they will skimp on other areas. "No one buys McIntosh when they're paying college tuition," says Pacor. L.A. Reid, chairman of Island Def Jam Music Group, got hooked 20 years ago. His first piece was a Mac preamp, and today he has Mac gear in his home and every professional music setting. "I am superstitious and had so many hit records with the preamp that I kept it and still have it today," says Reid. Those hits include Kanye West's *Late Registration* and OutKast's *Speakerboxxx/The Love Below*. "I think the average untrained person can hear that it's a smoother, silkier sound, a very warm sound that doesn't mistreat the music but enhances it."

After a factory demonstration, my amateur ears attest that the sound I heard was off the charts. I don't know if it was the widespread dynamic range, the subwoofer that made my pants shake or the power that seeped into my bones. I inquired about the cheapest McIntosh purchase. "It's \$3,500," Randall said. Not so bad, I thought. "But that's just for the power and preamp." The \$45,000 speakers are extra. —WITH REPORTING BY TOKO SEIKIGUCHI/TOKYO ■

'We told them, "Here is an opportunity to create what you want." You can't do that when you're struggling to make payroll.'

—VICTOR PACOR, PRESIDENT, D&M HOLDINGS, ON THE RATIONALE FOR ACQUIRING MCINTOSH



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JUST AS IMPORTANT
AS WHERE YOU FLY.
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On the ground CARE teams in Nairobi, Kenya, assess the effects of recent political violence, left, and the progress of an ongoing project at a school

TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

Organizing Disaster. CARE shows that planning carefully for the worst helps make a bad situation manageable

BY PAIGE BOWERS/ATLANTA

WHEN DISASTERS STRIKE, YOU WON'T find Becky Myton handing out cans of sardines. Although the little fish pack a protein wallop, "if you give out cans of sardines and people don't like them, you're just not doing them a favor," says Myton, an emergency coordinator for the Atlanta-based aid organization CARE. "It works much better when you evaluate people's needs and then meet them."

Myton's assessment reflects a 620-page operating manual that guides relief teams through the particulars of delivering the basics to those most in need. CARE's new manual, called the *Emergency Toolkit*, covers everything from preparedness planning and standard procedures to protocols for disaster response and the components of an effective emergency team.

At CARE, team-building is a core requirement, not just an HR target. Teams come in two flavors: longer-lasting country teams that run ongoing programs in nearly 70 nations, and 20 emergency-response teams that can rapidly deploy to a crisis for six to eight weeks. Disaster teams are staffed with specialists in logistics, information management, government relations and other disciplines vital to any relief effort.

The idea is to limit surprises in the very situations where they are most likely to arise. "From a tactical perspective, we generally have operations that have been on the ground," says Rigoberto Giron, director

of CARE's emergency and humanitarian-assistance unit. "Those workers know all the local contacts and cultural constraints, so they've got a good sense of what needs to be done and the best way to get it done." In a disaster, response teams identify the needs and the fund-raising required and then work with the country team to leverage local resources.

Armed with the *Emergency Toolkit*, workers go into crises with a clear sense of their role within the team and an understanding of how a given problem should be solved step-by-step. "If an I.T. shop goes down, they know how to recover it," says Patrick Solomon, CARE's senior vice president of global support services. "This manual helps prepare people so they can handle anything they might face."

And yet there's the thorny little issue of getting complete strangers to bond as a team in a stressful environment. Giron says having a team leader who can build trust quickly among the members is crucial. And rehearsal is essential for an effective


'These teams simulate what they need to do through a lot of practice. That ensures they've got a consistent application of our protocols.'

—RIGOBERTO GIRON, DIRECTOR OF EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE, CARE

response. "These teams simulate what they need to do through a lot of practice," Giron says. "That ensures they've got a consistent application of our protocols and an understanding of CARE's goals."

Most country teams can handle emergencies, but there are times when they need to call in extra specialists with health, water and sanitation expertise. So CARE taps into a global roster of its own professionals. These pros tend to be locals "who are culturally aware, can speak the language and have what it takes to operate in a given country," Giron says. For example, in 2005, CARE responded to the earthquake in Pakistan with a team from neighboring countries that was able to operate in a place that restricted the movement of women. But nearly two years ago, it did not have the same resources when its teams assessed a possible response to malnutrition in refugee camps in the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly known as Zaïre. "We weren't already based in the country, so it was hard for us to assess the situation," Giron says. Aware of its limits, CARE opted out of the mission.

Like any corporation, CARE compares the expected result with the outcome. With a response strategy due a week after an emergency hits and situation reports filed daily, CARE can constantly adapt, Giron says. Soon after an operation ends, it reviews how well its team was structured and whether there were gaps in skills and systems. Says Giron: "We give that feedback to the team leader. A year later, we review the entire operation to make sure needs were met, and if they weren't, then we decide what to do." Myton, for her part, is in the field assessing CARE's current efforts in flood-ravaged Bolivia. In the disaster business, videoconferencing can't substitute for being out with your teams. ■



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Iain M. Banks writes space
opera on the grand scale
Lev Grossman, Books, page 69

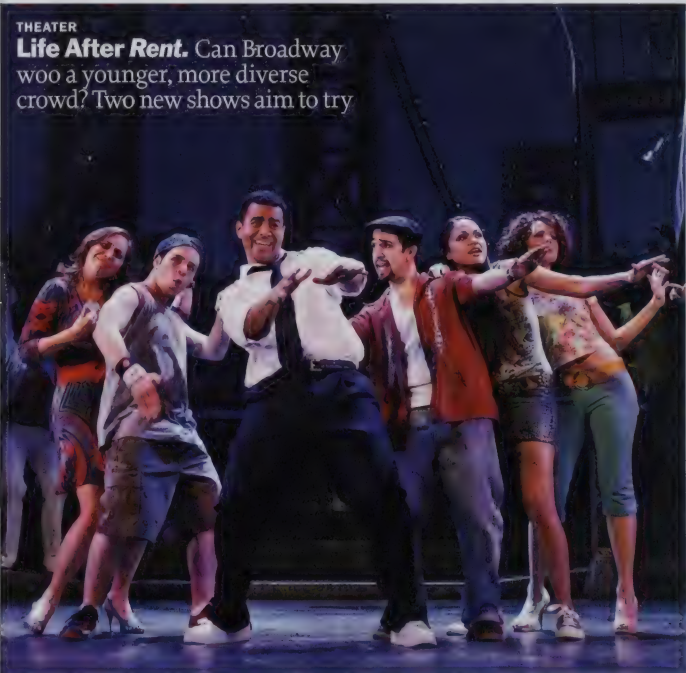
Arts



THEATER BOOKS DOWNTIME

THEATER

Life After Rent. Can Broadway woo a younger, more diverse crowd? Two new shows aim to try



A new beat In the Heights uses hip-hop and salsa to animate its family-friendly tale about the residents of a Latino neighborhood on the verge of change

COMPARED WITH THE CROWDED, colorful displays of loot in most Broadway theater lobbies, the merchandise counter for *Rent* looks downright spare: a modest assortment of sweatshirts, mugs, CDs and T-shirts in basic grunge black-and-white. The show, too—on my first return visit since reviewing it 12 years ago—looks a bit paler than it did back in 1996, when it opened off-Broadway to so much acclaim that it made the jump to Broadway just two months later. The AIDS-centric story lines in this East Village update of *La Bohème* seem a little dated now, and the umpteenth replacement cast doesn't have the snap, or the voices, of originals like Anthony Rapp and Idina Menzel. Still, when the last performance of *Rent* plays on June 1, ending the seventh longest run in Broadway history, it will leave a void on the Great White Way, and theater watchers are already asking the question, Where will Broadway find its next *Rent*?

Which is to say, the next hit musical that will attract a younger, more diverse audience than the relatively homogeneous (older, upscale, largely white) folks who usually fill the orchestra seats. It's a crowd that Broadway has been chasing for years. *Hair* was the first show to really tap into the sensibility and musical tastes of a young generation, and plenty of musicals since then have tried to bring rock (or at least rocklike) music to the land of Stephen Sondheim and Jerry Herman. None, however, were as successful as *Rent*, which has grossed more than \$280 million

on Broadway, helped by a fervent audience of kids, many of whom saw the show multiple times.

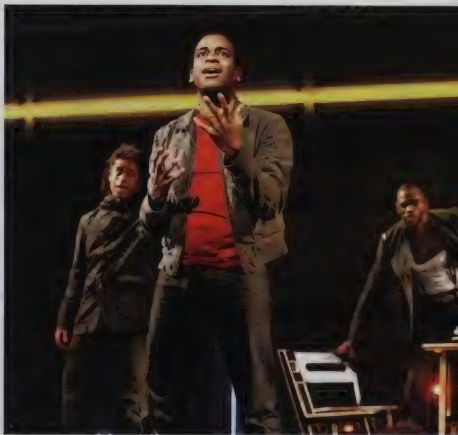
But *Rent* didn't exactly start a revolution. Broadway continues to do robust business; total attendance climbed 2.7% last year, to a record high of 12.3 million. But the vast majority of hit musicals since *Rent*, from *The Producers* to *Jersey Boys*, still earn their money the old-fashioned way: by catering to comfortably middlebrow, middle-aged audiences.

That, however, may be starting to change. The big news last season was the unexpected success of *Spring Awakening*, a hard-edged, hard-rocking musical about the sexual coming-of-age of teenagers in repressed 1890s Germany. It's the sort of show that a few years ago would have been satisfied with a critically acclaimed run at a hip downtown theater—where, in fact, *Spring Awakening* began life in 2006. But the show, buoyed by good reviews, transferred to Broadway the following spring

and awakened to find itself, against all odds, a multiple Tony winner and a box-office hit.

Now Broadway is about to welcome two more unconventional shows from off-Broadway that are hoping to reel in the sort of people who have traditionally turned their noses up, and their iPods off, at show-tunes-style musicals. One of them, *Passing Strange*, is an idiosyncratic mix of rock concert and theatrical bildungsroman, presided over by a Los Angeles-based alt-rock named Stew. The other, *In the Heights*, is a Latin- and hip-hop-flavored love letter to the Hispanic neighborhood of Washington Heights in upper Manhattan. The two shows have little in common except that neither could be mistaken for *Phantom of the Opera*.

They don't look a lot like *Rent* either.



Portrait of an artist The rock musician Stew, seated, narrates his life story in *Passing Strange*

That show, for all its breakthroughs, had an audience dominated largely by white kids from the suburbs. Meanwhile, Broadway audiences have been growing steadily more diverse in recent years; according to Theater League figures, about 26% of all Broadway theatergoers last season were non-Caucasian, a record high. One big reason was *The Color Purple*, the hit musical based on Alice Walker's novel of the same name, backed by the seemingly unstoppable Oprah Winfrey.

But *The Color Purple* is really an old-fashioned musical dressed up in new colors. Most of the shows that are expanding the musical's horizons are more personal and experimental—the work of artists who are approaching Broadway with a refreshing lack of preconceptions. And audiences, despite all the Internet-age doomsayers, may be ready for them, judging from the excitement generated by shows like *Spring Awakening*. "Theater is becoming groovy and cool again," says Kevin McCollum, a co-producer (along with Jeffrey Seller and Jill Furman) of *In the Heights* as well as *Rent*. "As technology is isolating us more and more, I think there is a thirst to gather. Actually having to show

REPLACING RENT?
Hear Richard Zoglin talk about Broadway's rock musicals, and listen to excerpts from the shows, at time.com/rent

After 12 years on Broadway, *Rent* will close on June 1





it's original and extraordinarily winning. Stew, a bald, bespectacled guitarist who leads the band and narrates, is a professional presence onstage whose flat, prosy singing voice gives an ironic grounding to the lyrical, gently rocking melodies. He's a model of a new kind of stage composer, one neither steeped in Broadway tradition nor reacting overtly against it. "Without casting any aspersions," says Stew, "I don't think most of the so-called rock onstage sounds like anything my friends and I would listen to. We wanted to take the music we do on records and in clubs and put it on the American stage—music that people want to listen to, the stuff you put on when friends come over."

Lin-Manuel Miranda, 28, the conceiver, composer, lyricist and star of *In the Heights*, had a bit more experience with musicals than Stew did—he got what he describes as a "lethal dose of musical theater" while acting in shows at his New York City grade school (the short Puerto Rican sixth-grader played Conrad Birdie in *Bye Bye Birdie*). He started writing *In the Heights* when he was living in the Latino house at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., incorporating the hip-hop that he had grown up listening to as well as the Latin styles of favorite artists like Rubén Blades, Gilberto Santa Rosa and Juan Luis Guerra. "I wanted to write music that told stories as well as those songwriters tell stories," he says, "but onstage."

The result is a warm, upbeat slice of street life set in the largely Dominican neighborhood of Washington Heights. Miranda, the narrator, plays the proprietor of a bodega in the shadow of the George Washington Bridge, introducing and interacting with a dozen characters, from the college girl who disappoints her parents by dropping out of Stanford to the aging neighborhood matriarch who wins \$96,000 after buying a lottery ticket. Miranda's songs glide effortlessly between mellow hip-hop, salsa dance numbers and Latin flavored arias that express the frustrations, dreams and community pride in Miranda's family-friendly world. No pimps or drug dealers on these mean streets; *In the Heights* is both a hip and an improbably wholesome show, whose moral—like that of *Passing Strange*—"is 'There's no place like home.'"

Indeed, *In the Heights* might even be regarded as the first musical of the Barack Obama era. It represents change on Broadway. It's a show full of hope. And it has its producers—and a lot of other people who want Broadway to reach out to new audiences with contemporary, heartfelt songs like these—crying "Yes, we can." —WITH REPORTING BY LISA MC LAUGHLIN/NEW YORK

The Rock Musical Since *Rent*. Highs and lows of the new style



The Capeman
Paul Simon's first stab at Broadway had some nifty doo-wop music—but was a box-office flop



Hedwig and the Angry Inch
The transgender off-Broadway musical had a score that really rocked



Mamma Mia! The ABBA show was the first to prove you can recycle old pop/rock and turn it into Broadway gold



Movin' Out
Twyla Tharp made Billy Joel's songs sound better than ever with her modern-dance interpretation of his oeuvre



Spring Awakening
This edgy, downbeat, hard-rocking adaptation of Frank Wedekind's 1890s German play was an unlikely winner on Broadway

up somewhere at 8 o'clock, being part of a community, is very healing and powerful." What's more, the eclipse of the concept album, which has accompanied the rise of iTunes and the return to primacy of the single, may be making the Broadway stage more attractive to composers who want to tell stories, not just write songs.

"In their heart of hearts," says Stew (real name: Mark Stewart), the creator and composer of *Passing Strange*, "I think every rock 'n' roll guy who always laughs at the American musical in truth wants to write a musical. You don't want to be with a touring band every night. And it gives you a chance to tell a story." A native of Los Angeles who has been recording albums and doing cabaret shows with his band, the Negro Problem, for the past 10 years, Stew, 46, had seen only one musical—*How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*—when he started writing *Passing Strange* three years ago. The loosely autobiographical show recounts the artistic journey (in scenes acted, sung and danced by a full cast) of a young man from a middle-class L.A. neighborhood to the drugs-and-free-love wonderland of Amsterdam and a radical artistic commune in Berlin.

Dramatically, the show feels a little padded (shorter stays and another stop on this tour might have helped), but musically,

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Books

Q&A

In Prison with Jodi Picoult

The author's 15th novel, *Change of Heart*, ponders capital punishment.

One of the characters is a prisoner on death row. How did you study up on that? I sweet-talked my way to the death cells [at an Arizona prison]. Nobody I met on death row who works there believes in the death penalty. They all say it's their job.



How did that experience affect your own beliefs about capital punishment? Even as I was writing this book, I was flip-flopping all over the place. I'm still leery of it.

You write about such dark subjects. What was it like for you growing up? I had this ridiculously happy childhood. I had absolutely no trauma in my childhood. If anyone ever assumed that my books were autobiographical, they'd be sorely disappointed, because none of these things happened to me.

—BY ANDREA SACHS

TIME PODCAST

Listen to the full interview with Jodi Picoult at time.com/podcast

MODERN ROMANCE

This sparkling first novel, *Beginner's Greek*, starts with a couple who meet cute. Then James Collins

(a former TIME editor) deftly keeps them apart in a most satisfying way.



REVIEW

A Night at the Space Opera



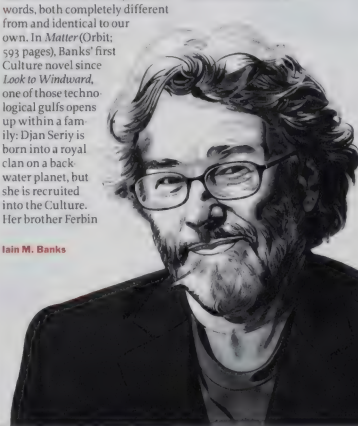
ONE OF THE BEST novels written about Sept. 11, 2001, was published in August 2000. *Look to Windward*, by Scottish science-fiction writer Iain M. Banks, is set in a galaxy-wide civilization called the Culture that's so ridiculously technologically advanced that people have become functionally immortal godlings. They can do anything they want; therefore everything is a game and nothing matters. When they interfere in the affairs of a less advanced species called the Chelgrians, the Chelgrians retaliate with a grotesque act of terrorism.

The Culture novels (there are eight of them) are about the challenges of a world in which thinking beings must deal with one another across vertiginous gulfs of cultural and technological difference—a world, in other words, both completely different from and identical to our own. In *Matter* (Orbit; 593 pages), Banks' first Culture novel since *Look to Windward*, one of those technological gulfs opens up within a family: Djan Seriy is born into a royal clan on a backwater planet, but she is recruited into the Culture. Her brother Ferbin

remains behind on their primitive home world. (Which is, incidentally, not a regular planet but a Shellworld, a synthetic planet constructed as a set of concentric spheres. At its center dwells a massive, near omnipotent alien deity. No one knows why; it just moved in one day.) When their father is murdered, the siblings must bring about justice and also come to terms with what Djan Seriy has become.

Banks writes space opera on the grand scale: he measures time in eons, space in light years, tragedies in gigadeaths. His human players strut and fret on that vast stage, struggling to retain a sense of purpose. "Welcome to the future," thinks Djan Seriy bitterly. "All our tragedies and triumphs, our lives and deaths, our shames and joys are just stuffing for your emptiness." She could just as well have said, "Welcome to the present."

—BY LEV GROSSMAN



Iain M. Banks



60-SECOND SYNOPSIS

Rubber, Sold

HENRY WICKHAM wasn't smart, he wasn't rich, and he definitely wasn't lucky. What he was, was determined. In 1866, when he was 20, he sailed for the Amazon in search of exotic feathers for his mother's hat business back in London. That was a failure, like everything else he tried, but he caught the Amazon bug, and 10 years later he pulled off the one spectacular success of his life. In defiance of malaria, anacondas, electric eels, freshwater stingrays, Confederate colonists, customs inspectors and Yanomamo tribesmen, he smuggled 70,000 priceless rubber tree seeds out of Brazil and back to England.

This single act of biological piracy, richly recounted in Joe Jackson's astounding **THE THIEF AT THE END OF THE WORLD** (Viking; 432 pages), "handed Britain the first worldwide monopoly of a strategic resource in human history." And Wickham? He got a pittance for his trouble and went off to farm sea slugs in the Conflict Islands, the quintessential Victorian sad sack: ignorant, incompetent, indomitable. —L.G.

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Downtime



5 Things You Should Know About. A killer crime novel, more Tudor-era treachery and a musical ode to bologna



BOOK

Lush Life By Richard Price; published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux; on sale March 4

Three drunk white guys get mugged. One decides to play superhero ("Not tonight, my man") and gets himself shot. Just another bad night on the Lower East Side, but Price interrogates the players—cops, perps, victims, witnesses—until each one gives up a great human truth hidden in his seedy little soul. Best crime novel of the year, guaranteed. **A**



MOVIE

The Other Boleyn Girl Directed by Justin Chadwick; script by Peter Morgan; rated PG-13; out now

Henry VIII (Eric Bana) wants a son. He also wants some fun, which he finds at the loins of the Boleyn girls, Anne (Natalie Portman) and Mary (Scarlett Johansson). The film has grander airs than Showtime's *The Tudors* but similar betrayals and bodice-ripping. The American leading ladies look fine but sound false. They're out of their shallows here. **C**



MUSIC

Stephen Malkmus and the Jicks *Real Emotional Trash*; available March 4

Long a master of erudite word salads and gee-tar stews, the former Pavement leader dives deeper into his love of abstraction by jamming for minutes in search of a groove and twirling words like *Bal-ti-mo-wo-wo-wore*. None of it is urgent or important, but none of it is stupid, either—a Sammy Hagar album if Sammy Hagar had a Ph.D. **B**



Alan Jackson *Good Time*; available March 4

If you think the title promises an uncomplicated experience, wait till *I Still Like Bologna*, which celebrates "bologna, a woman's love and a good cell phone." So Jackson's first completely self-written album is simple, but it's not without its charms. There is a fun Martina McBride duet, Jackson's ever warm baritone and, of course, lunch meats. **B**



DVD

Things We Lost in the Fire Directed by Susanne Bier; written by Allan Loeb; rated R; available March 4

The gorgeous widow (Halle Berry) of a perfect husband (David Duchovny) finds volunteer work and consolation in helping her husband's old friend (Benicio Del Toro) rise from the ashes of addiction. Noble in intent, dreadful in execution, this soporific soap opera is in no way to be bought, rented, bartered, played or allowed in your house. **F**

BETTE MIDLER

It's De-Vegas, She's Divine

"BOY, IS MY ASS TIRED!" Bette Midler chirps as she rides onto the gigantic Caesars Palace stage astride a donkey. In **THE SHOWGIRL MUST GO ON**, the 62-year-old chanteuse often declares that she's exhausted, yet in her sharp 90-min. act, she seems ageless and indefatigable—strutting, singing, hopping around in a fish tail, cavorting under a 3,200-lb. (1,450 kg) headdress of pink feathers. *Showgirl*, a slick \$10 million production, replaces Céline Dion's elephantine extravaganza with the unique Midler mix: sass, heart and a show-biz salesmanship that's been irresistible since her early days as an icon for gay men only. "Thirty years ago, my audiences were on drugs," she says. "Now they're on medication." Her fans have aged, but Midler is still incandescent, and the new show, written by Eric Kornfeld and choreographed by Toni Basil, is a fresh, sinfully satisfying distillation of her career. The Divine Miss M. just gets diviner. Bette. Better. Best. —BY RICHARD CORLISS





Joel

Stein

How Sorry Is This Guy? If Ralph Nader wants any votes in this election, he should cop to the last one he screwed up

PEOPLE USED TO LIKE RALPH NADER. WHICH IS impressive since he is the progenitor of two of the world's most annoying types of people: local-TV consumer advocates and guys who enjoy reminding you to put your seat belt on. Sure, it was a little weird when he started campaigning for President in 1992, but we looked past that because he had given us so much and because back then running for President was just an adorable hobby designed to entertain Larry King. When Nader ran in 2000, taking key votes from Al Gore, however, he alienated every conceivable base. Now Democrats hate him for getting George Bush elected. Republicans hate him for getting George Bush elected.

But Nader is running again this year, for the fifth consecutive time, and he tells me over the phone he's shocked that the hate is still so strong. Liberal bloggers are saying incredibly mean things about him, or so he's heard. "The venom, looking at the blogs and e-mail responses to the newspaper articles, I'm told—I'm really not online; I have an Underwood typewriter—but I see letters. And it's really sad. It would match e-mail for e-mail the worst Jim Crow remarks in the South against African-American voters." It's one thing to be so out of it you don't use e-mail. It's quite another to believe the technology has been around since the Jim Crow South.

I called Nader because I alone knew how to save his candidacy. I like his bits about taking on the multinational corporations that have usurped the political process. That's going to appeal to everyone except those who realize they work at, shop at and invest in multinational corporations. Nader's huge problem is that you can't demand financial honesty from politicians when you can't be honest yourself. Nader just can't admit that he's at least a little responsible for Gore's loss. And that he may have gotten it at least a little wrong when he said there wasn't much difference between Bush and Gore. Bush, it turns out, isn't boring.

So I told Nader my outline for a campaign plan that would fix his image. My idea: apologize like crazy. I suggested that he adopt the slogan "My bad!" and produce campaign buttons with his head on Urkel's body, saying DID I DO THAT? Nader would come out onstage to Britney Spears' *Oops!... I Did It Again* and maybe do one

of those supershort apology trips to rehab, blaming his involvement in the 2000 election on Quaaludes or yerba mate or whatever drug someone like Ralph Nader might take. If the subtext of John McCain's and Hillary Clinton's campaigns is "I've gone through hell, so you owe me," then Nader needs to run on "You've gone through hell, so I owe you."

Some of these references were not caught by Nader. But he embraced the general idea. We honed it down to a slightly less catchy "It's all my fault, so I owe you to be a really good President" and dropped the Urkel bit entirely. He says he's going to try the concept first on *The Daily Show* next week and then, depending on how it plays, platform it out nationally. And we devised a pretty smart argument that while Nader might be responsible for every drop of blood spilled in Iraq, he also helped end global warming. Nader came up with his own bit about how he must also be responsible for sunspots, which made me more than a little nervous about letting the man deliver my material.

But even if he can't do it right, I'm still glad he's running. It's important for people who feel they're not being heard to have the option to vote for insane, incapable candidates. Only new parties can break us out of dangerous paradigms. It was a recently formed third party that got rid of slavery, after all. That's because a two-party system is designed to eliminate extreme ideas—the Dennis Kuciniches, Mike Gravel, Ron Pauls and Tom Tancredos—much like the first few episodes of *American Idol*. The parties quickly get us down to two choices that we find acceptable but are just different enough to argue over: McDonald's and Burger King; Coke and Pepsi; Shi'a and Sunni.

But a new party is not Nader's goal. He simply wants to give people—especially those who are independent and didn't vote in the primaries—a chance to register dissatisfaction so extreme that they're willing to hurt themselves to express it. He exists for the same strange reason as Jack in the Box.

Part of Nader's problem is that the Democrats are so good at self-righteous anger. Perot cost the first Bush the 1992 election, but no one got too upset when he ran again in 1996. People just ignored him. That's how third parties are supposed to work.



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3. EDUCATE: OFFER FINANCIAL SEMINARS FOR EMPLOYEES AND SPOUSES.

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